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# The Baker, His Tomb, His Wife, and Her Breadbasket: The Monument of Eurysaces in Rome

Lauren Hackworth Petersen

Since its rediscovery in 1838, the tomb of the baker has sparked the interest of visitors to Rome (Fig. 1). With its rows of dark, hollow circles that repeat on its three extant facades, this curious and unique ruin appears more modern than ancient; its strong, cold geometric forms suggest a Fascist-era monument rather than a two-thousand-year-old tomb constructed by a Roman baker. The patterns of circles are not the only unusual features of this tomb. The trapezoidal monument as a whole defies any typological categorization in ancient Roman tomb construction and thus piques the curiosity of scholars as well.<sup>1</sup>

Two of the monument's inscriptions tell us that this is the tomb of a baker named Eurysaces, who was also a contractor of bread. One of them survives in its entirety:

EST HOC MONIMENTUM MARGEI [*sic*] VERGILEI EURYSACIS  
PISTORIS REDEMPTORIS APPARET

(This is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces,  
baker, contractor, public servant.)<sup>2</sup>

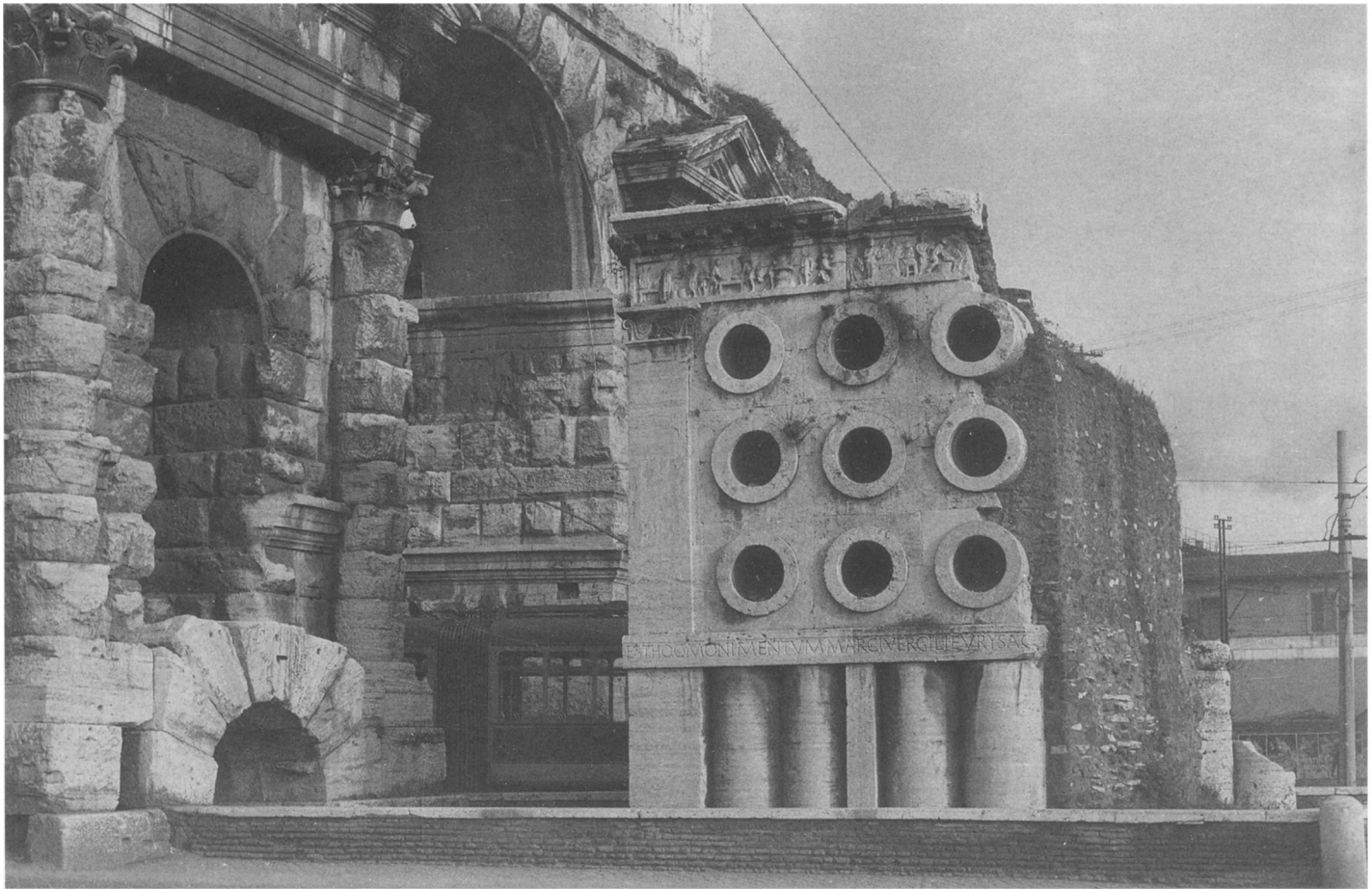
Eurysaces must have been quite wealthy to amass the great fortune needed to build such a large tomb. Beyond this little is known about him. However, scholars almost universally assume that Eurysaces was an ex-slave, or freedman; that is, he is thought to have been a slave and subsequently manumitted and thus held citizen status in Roman society. In brief, Eurysaces' identity as a *libertinus*, or freedman, is deduced for the following reasons. The name Eurysaces, a Greek rather than a Latin name, has led some to conclude that he had been a slave of Greek origin.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the labor-intensive activities of baking were typically associated with slaves, but nonelite citizens, which included freed slaves, could own bakeries in addition to working within them. And finally, and perhaps most problematically, the monument's remarkable appearance has suggested to more than a few a naïve ostentation specifically associated with a freedman's taste (or lack thereof). Whether consciously or not, throughout the scholarship on the tomb, scholars' belief in Eurysaces' identity as a wealthy (*nouveau riche*) ex-slave has been used to explain this monument's nontraditional appearance.

At the end of the late Republican and beginning of the Imperial period (ca. 50–20 B.C.E.), the presumed date of Eurysaces' tomb, perhaps the most decisive distinction that one could draw in Roman society was between the free (mostly citizens, but also foreigners) and the enslaved. Slaves were viewed simply as their masters' commodities and held no citizen rights, such as legally recognized marriage and blood-family ties or voting privileges. Among the free, the category of citizen was the largest, as it comprised both freeborn citizens (*ingenui*) and those who were freed slaves (*libertini*). Freeborn citizens included Rome's elite individuals, the small fraction of wealthy families of nobility who ruled Rome, and

the nonelite, who were born with citizen status but were not office-holding individuals (not because they could not legally hold office, but because they did not have the social standing and wealth to do so). Freeborn nonelite individuals, who made up a significant portion of Roman society, typically worked for a living, and they constituted a tremendously diverse group. In this category belong wealthy merchants, manufacturers, tavern owners, and so on, as well as working individuals who could barely make ends meet. *Libertini* also had citizen status and acquired most citizen rights. However, because of their status as former slaves, they could not hold elective office, which meant that a freed slave could never achieve elite status in Roman society. *Libertini* thus experienced social mobility but operated under a glass ceiling. As a group, *libertini* were also hugely diverse; only their former-slave status united them. Taken as a whole, the category of nonelite included almost all of Rome's people—slaves, freed slaves, and most of Rome's freeborn citizens—thus making it a highly complex category.<sup>4</sup>

Traditionally, the history of Roman art has focused almost exclusively on elite culture, the segment of society that produced the art and literature that scholars depend on so heavily to understand the past. Most books on Roman art are filled with images of imperial Rome, with very little attention paid to nonimperial art. More recent examinations have focused much-needed attention on Rome's nonelite individuals. This trend began in the 1970s with the influential work of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Bianca Maria Felletti Maj, who were instrumental in defining, respectively, a plebeian and Italic (that is, nonelite) rather than an aulic or Hellenic (that is, elite) sculptural style in Roman art.<sup>5</sup> The last twenty years have witnessed a flourish of activity as scholars attempt to recover Rome's varied and multifaceted histories by addressing issues such as social status, visibility, and motivations in self-representation among ordinary Romans, ex-slaves, and even slaves.<sup>6</sup>

This article is both indebted to and a critique of recent scholarship in Roman art. The monument of Eurysaces figures prominently in studies of Roman archaeology and art history, yet it has rarely been the subject of in-depth analysis. Typically, Eurysaces' presumed freedman identity has been used to speculate about some of his motivations in commissioning this tomb and to explain the tomb's perceived ostentatious display of the baker's financial success, as if freed slaves necessarily commissioned garish art. It is perhaps ironic that recent discussions of the tomb provide only a partial, sometimes disparaging, picture of the tomb. My aim is twofold: to offer alternative, but by no means definitive, ways to understand Eurysaces' tomb in the cultural landscape of ancient Rome and, more important, to introduce the simple point that how we look at and talk about a monument greatly affects how we represent history, and vice versa. Spe-



1 Monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, Rome (photo: Fototeca Unione, 1134)

cifically, I propose a two-pronged approach to the monument. This article will contest the assumption that the unusual appearance of Eurysaces' tomb is necessarily bound to his presumed legal status as an ex-slave; it critically probes scholarly readings of the monument that essentialize the nature of its patronage. This essay will also attempt to expand our appreciation of the tomb by offering interpretations of the monument rooted in the dynamics of Roman commemorative practices. I begin by examining the reconstructions of the tomb and the reading of Eurysaces' ex-slave identity based in large part on those reconstructions. After exposing the layers of assumptions that have been made about this monument and Eurysaces' status as a former slave, I consider how Eurysaces' tomb functioned in the everyday lives of Romans by taking into account how it addressed viewers and performed in dialogue with other tombs of this period. My goal is to initiate the process of dissolving the dichotomy of elite versus nonelite that is so entrenched in scholarship. In this regard, I aim to resituate the monument in Roman art history by demonstrating that Eurysaces' tomb frankly celebrates his baking enterprise and by suggesting that the monument's unconventional use of architectural form and decoration arose from a visual strategy for Eurysaces to make himself memorable.

#### **Eurysaces' Tomb: Remains and Reconstructions**

The extant remains of the tomb of Eurysaces provide us with a relatively complete view of this monument's appearance in

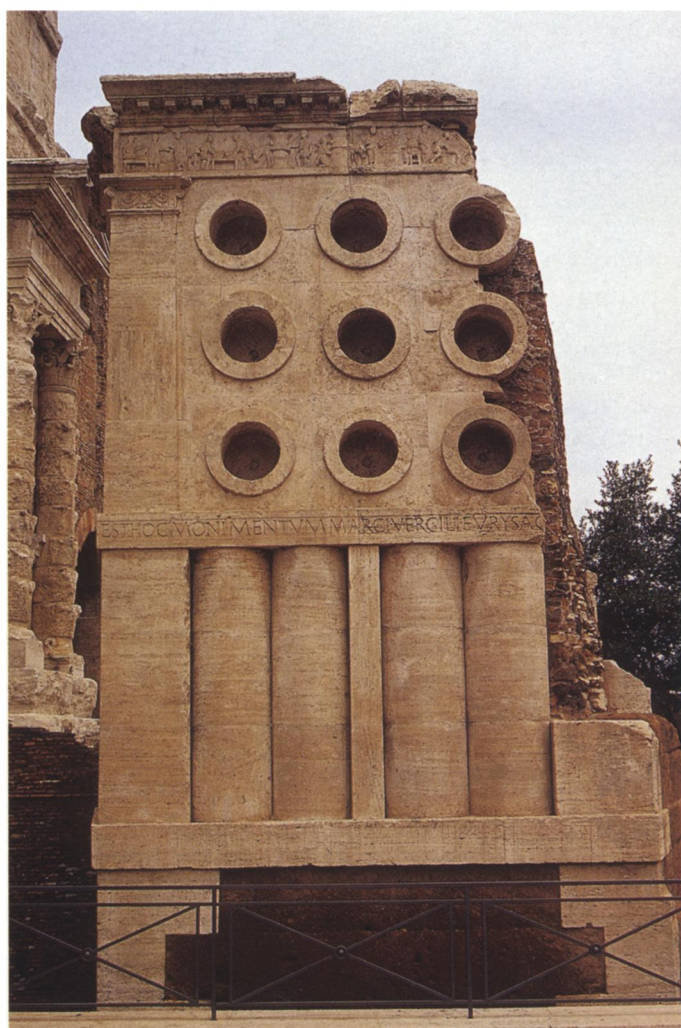
antiquity. Built in the mid-to-late first century B.C.E. (the late Republican to early Imperial period), the tomb rises majestically approximately thirty-three feet from the ancient level of the Via Labicana, although it is now dwarfed by the monumental Porta Maggiore, built about eighty years later under the emperor Claudius.<sup>7</sup> Three of the tomb's facades are well preserved, each side displaying the same general treatment (Figs. 1–4). Among the tomb's most notable features are the pairings of vertical cylinders (separated by pilasters) on the second story; three horizontal epitaphs (one on each facade) that separate the middle from the upper stories, informing us in no uncertain terms that this is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, and in two that he was a baker and contractor of bread;<sup>8</sup> the intriguing circular forms in the third or upper story; and, below the cornice, a sculpted pictorial frieze that depicts various stages of bread making in a large-scale commercial setting, such as the consignment and grinding of grain (south), mechanical kneading of dough, formation of dough into loaves, bread baking (north), and weighing of bread (west) (Figs. 5–7).<sup>9</sup> The images in the frieze seem to elaborate in visual terms what the epitaphs below convey in words. The monument's inscriptions and frieze are therefore unified in concept; this is a tomb of a baker and baking contractor, who owned a substantial operation, as the size of the tomb itself suggests.

While three sides of the monument are relatively intact, nearly the entire east facade is missing as a result of the later history of the monument, prompting scholarly speculation as





**2** Monument of Eurysaces, north facade (photo: author)



**3** Monument of Eurysaces, south facade (photo: author)



**4** Monument of Eurysaces, west and north facades (photo: author)

to its appearance (Fig. 8). This facade was destroyed in the third century when the tomb was built into a tower of the Porta Praenestina-Labicana, where it remained hidden and nearly unknown until 1838 (Fig. 9).<sup>10</sup> The history of the excavation of Eurysaces' tomb began unexpectedly in 1837, when Pope Gregory XVI decided to demolish the late antique city gate with the intention of liberating Claudius's Porta Maggiore. In the process, his workers uncovered the baker's tomb, which was allowed to remain.<sup>11</sup> This campaign also yielded many sculptural and epigraphic fragments. Found among the fragments was a full-length marble relief portrait of a man and a woman dressed in Roman attire; he wears a tunic and toga and she a tunic and palla (Fig. 10). The couple



5 Monument of Eurysaces, south frieze (photo: author)



6 Monument of Eurysaces, north frieze (photo: author)



7 Monument of Eurysaces, west frieze (photo: author)



stands together, and, although they do not touch each other, their gazes and slight turn toward each other unite them visually. Also found was a marble epitaph that declares, “Atistia was my wife. She lived as a wonderful woman, the remains of whose body which survive are in this breadbasket” (Fig. 11).<sup>12</sup> For reasons of scale and uniformity in subject matter (husband and wife), the epitaph seems to go with the relief portrait, so it has been assumed that the portrait depicts a

married couple and that the woman shown is Atistia, the wife named in the epitaph.<sup>13</sup>

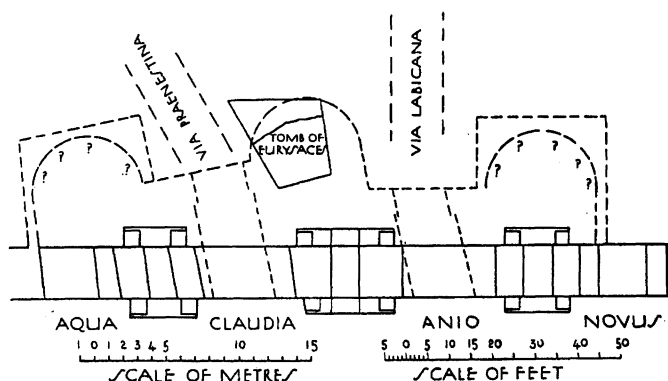
Excavators did not delay in connecting these two features with Eurysaces’ tomb. In 1838, shortly after the excavation of the monument, Luigi Canina prominently displayed the portrait and epitaph as an ensemble in the first proposed reconstruction of the destroyed eastern facade (Fig. 12). Canina hypothesized that the portrait and epitaph were featured on



8 Monument of Eurysaces, east facade (photo: author)



10 Marble portrait of Atistia and her husband (Eurysaces?). Rome, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori (photo: Felbermeyer, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom-InstNegNr. 32.1402)



9 Porta Praenestina-Labicana, sketch plan (from Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*, fig. 40)

the upper story of the tomb with a single vertical row of circular forms flanking the ensemble, which in itself would distinguish the east facade from the unified program of the other three facades.<sup>14</sup> In addition, nowhere are Eurysaces' name or his profession(s) inscribed on the reconstructed east facade as they are on the three other facades. Despite these glaring differences between the program of the reconstructed facade and the three extant facades, two features

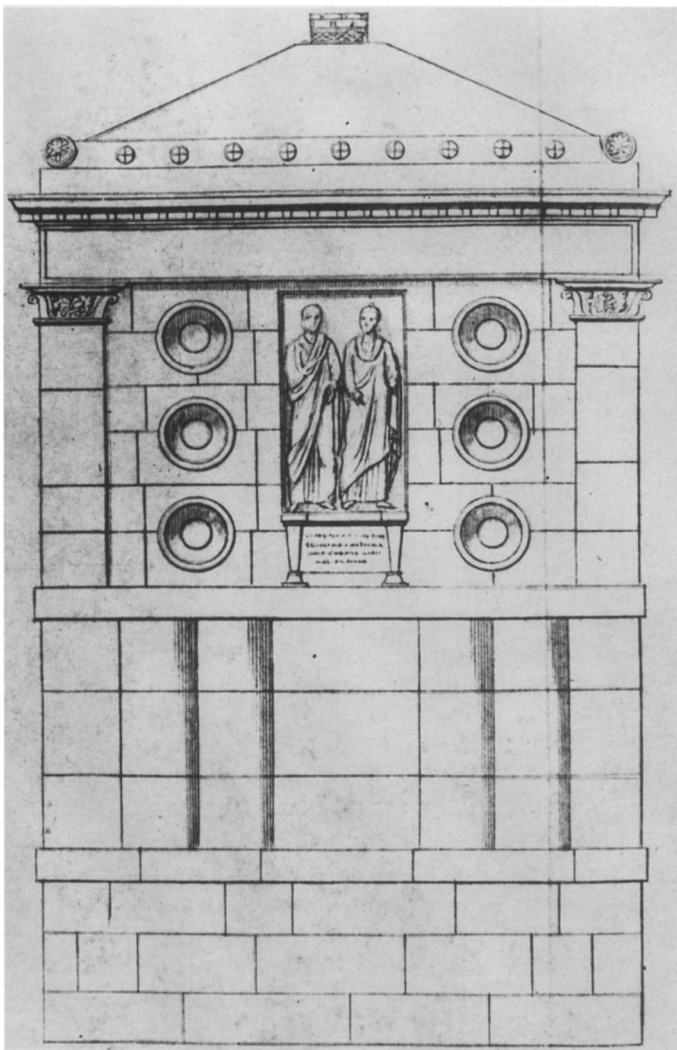
support Canina's placement of the ensemble on the eastern facade. One is that the language in Atistia's epitaph is archaizing, as is the language used on the three other sides of the monument.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the epitaph states that the unnamed husband of Atistia buried her remains in a breadbasket, which could be an oblique allusion to the husband's profession as a baker.<sup>16</sup> A now-lost ash urn in the form of a cylindrical basket, a common type of urn, found in the vicinity of the tomb during the 1838 demolition of the gate might even have belonged to Atistia, and, if conceived as a breadbasket, it would fit nicely with the tomb's verbal and visual program (Fig. 13).<sup>17</sup>

Canina's drawing has greatly influenced subsequent reconstructions of the monument, which also place the epitaph and relief portrait ensemble on the tomb's eastern facade, but with minor modifications (Figs. 14, 15). These reconstructions suggest that Eurysaces, who announces on three sides of his monument that he was a baker, is Atistia's husband, who dedicated the marble epitaph to her and buried her in a breadbasket, and the man figured in the relief portrait. It would seem that Canina's drawing solved the problem of the tomb's missing east facade as well as that of the identity of the otherwise anonymous couple represented in the portrait. It has also opened the door for scholars to

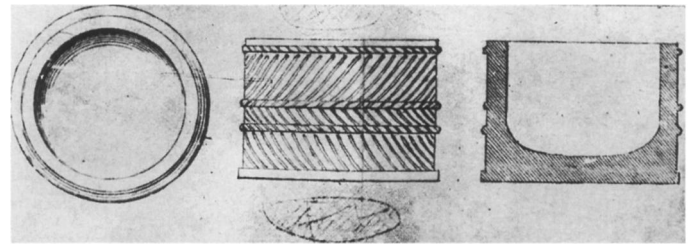




11 Marble epitaph of Atistia. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (photo: Fototeca Unione, 6636)



12 Monument of Eurysaces, reconstruction of the east facade by Luigi Canina (from Ciancio Rossetto, pl. 38)



13 Urn in the form of a breadbasket (Atistia's?), drawing by L. Canina (from Ciancio Rossetto, fig. 28)

### The Portrait and Freedman Identity of Eurysaces

Recent interest in recovering Rome's complex (nonelite) pasts has focused primarily on *libertini*, in part because these individuals led especially complex lives, having been slaves who were freed by their masters to become Roman citizens able to mingle liberally with freeborn citizens. In addition, freed slaves, more than slaves or even freeborn nonelites (*ingenui*), are visible in the material record; until the late first century C.E., ex-slaves often enjoyed explicitly identifying themselves as *libertini* in their epitaphs, usually with the abbreviation LIB or simply L as part of their nomenclature (although they were not compelled to do so).<sup>18</sup> We can thus readily extract ex-slaves from the material remains of ancient Rome (meanwhile, *ingenui* have virtually disappeared from scholarly discourse, perhaps because their freeborn status was commonplace and typically unmarked). Because ex-slaves are relatively visible, scholars have grouped freedmen into a category worthy of study, implicitly creating a subfield of Roman art—freedman art. While the process of identifying and isolating works of art commissioned by ex-slaves is without question an important field of inquiry, it also risks creating an essentialized, predetermined, and self-fulfilling art historical category that reinforces the polarity between monuments of freed slaves and the elite, without allowing for a commonality between the two. I suggest here that discussions of Eurysaces' monument have been limited, if not hampered, by the desire to fix his identity as an ex-slave and categorize his monument as an example of freedman art.

study the portrait in an attempt to learn more about Eurysaces and, more specifically, to secure his legal identity as an ex-slave.



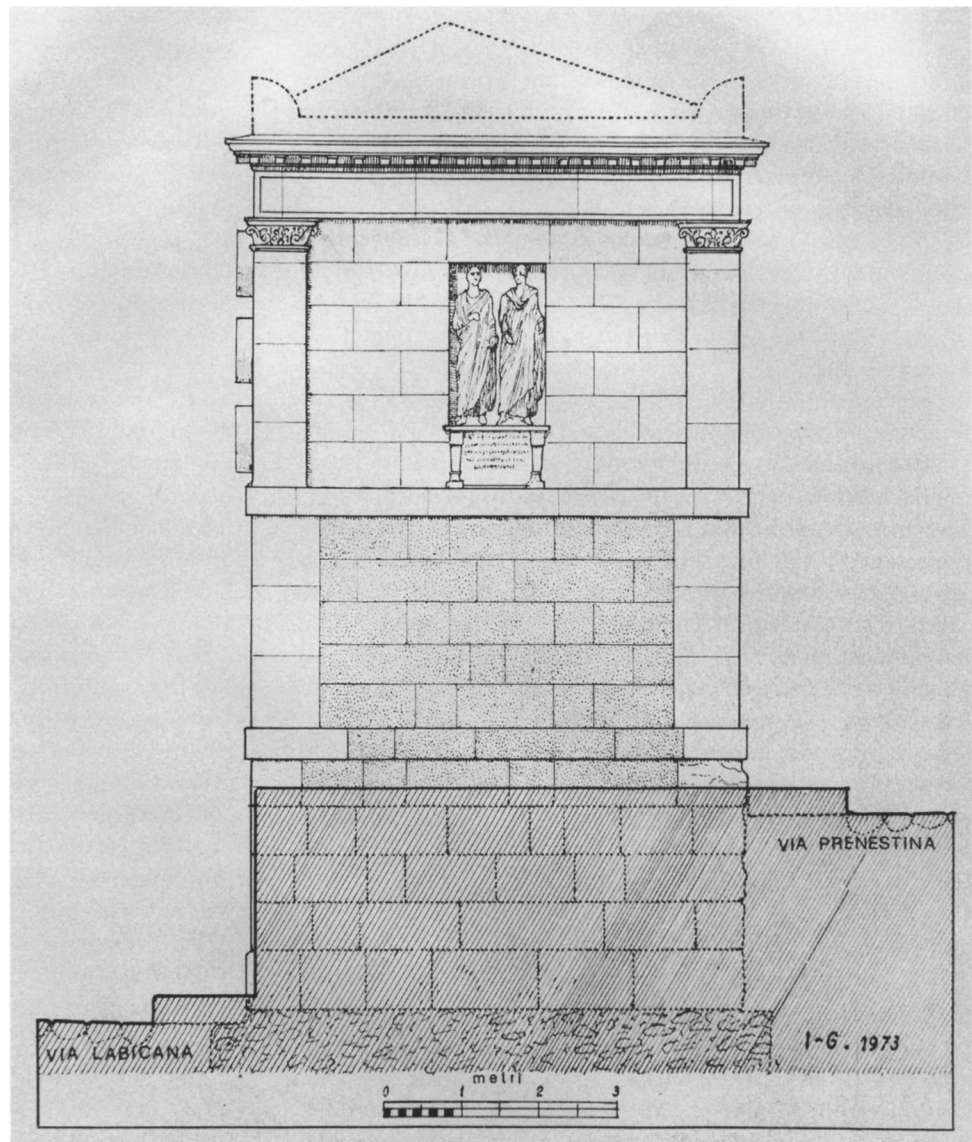
14 Model of the monument of Eurysaces. Rome, Museo della Civiltà Romana (photo: Fototeca Unione, 13259)

For instance, in seminal studies of late Republican and early Imperial funerary portraits, Diana Kleiner and Paul Zanker have each identified a mode of self-representation prevalent among freed slaves—funerary reliefs depicting portraits, whether full-length or busts, of the deceased and his family.<sup>19</sup> Although each offers a slightly different interpretation of these types of images, both Kleiner and Zanker suggest that these funerary portraits celebrate an ex-slave's pride in his citizenship status, which included his right to produce a legitimate, legally recognized Roman family, that is, a family with free status (a right that was denied to him as a slave). Moreover, Kleiner argues that the style of the freedman portraits imitates that of the aristocracy, men's portraits reflecting the traditional veristic style of the Republic, women's displaying coiffures similar to those worn by contemporary aristocratic women. Kleiner believes the portrait of Atistia and her husband fits well into this trickle-down model, in

which the aristocracy establishes stylistic trends that the lower strata imitate.<sup>20</sup>

While there is no inherent problem with finding reasons *why* former slaves might have chosen to commemorate their families, there is no definitive evidence to show that *only* ex-slaves would choose this mode of self-representation and, by extension, that all portraits done in this manner *necessarily* portray freedmen (indeed, this conclusion is inconsistent with the trickle-down model, which by its very nature asserts that a style of representation can be used by more than one social group). Nonetheless, most, if not all, familial funerary portraits have become identified as a type of freedman art in scholarship, even when accompanying epigraphic evidence does not designate the social standing of those depicted.<sup>21</sup> Is it not possible that at least some of the anonymous or undesignated family funerary portraits depict the unmarked yet numerous freeborn individuals who have virtually disap-





15 Monument of Eurysaces, reconstruction of the east facade by Italo Gismondi (from Ciancio Rossetto, pl. 46)

peared from scholarly notice? In the case of Eurysaces' and Atistia's epitaphs, for instance, no formal legal-status designator appears with either of their names. An abbreviation standing for a freedperson, *L*, a use that was common, but not universal, in freed slaves' epitaphs in the late Republic and early empire, is notably absent from Eurysaces' inscriptions, Atistia's epitaph, and the portrait (which itself is not inscribed).<sup>22</sup> Yet, because the couple represented themselves in this medium and style, it has been asserted that the husband and wife must be ipso facto ex-slaves. Furthermore, the presumed libertine couple has been identified as Eurysaces and Atistia, including, as we saw, the relief portrait and Atistia's epitaph, in reconstructions of his monument.<sup>23</sup>

However, a more basic problem exists with reading Eurysaces' status as an ex-slave based in part on the relief portrait. Canina's reconstruction of the east facade, unfortunately, is less than secure for a number of reasons, leaving open the possibility that the portrait and epitaph belonged elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> The nineteenth-century excavation notes provide no unambiguous statement as to where exactly the relief portrait and epitaph were found.<sup>25</sup> This might not be a

problem in and of itself, but also discovered during the 1838 liberation campaign were many other architectural fragments whose decorative elements depict objects related to the baking profession.<sup>26</sup> These include parts of a cornice and trabeation with sculpted round loaves of bread and a large travertine block incised to look like a wicker basket. Canina attributed these elements to Eurysaces' monument, but more recently, Paola Ciancio Rossetto has argued that these fragments belong to *another* baker's tomb, perhaps one more modest than Eurysaces' monument, because a fragment of an epitaph was also found in the fill.<sup>27</sup> The epitaph reads, "Ogulnius, baker of white bread, friend."<sup>28</sup> Taken together, these finds indicate that not one baker, but two (or more), perhaps colleagues, erected their own funerary monuments in the immediate vicinity of one another. The existence of another baker's monument near that of Eurysaces' raises the possibility that the relief portrait and/or Atistia's epitaph belong to that tomb rather than to Eurysaces', or to another tomb altogether. It is not my intention to argue that these two features definitely belong to another tomb but simply to postulate that they could have been displayed on a second

baker's tomb. Once we recognize the potential problems with the placement of the portrait and Atistia's epitaph on the east facade of Eurysaces' monument, the family portrait, a feature essential to asserting the legal identity of its artistic patrons as former slaves, becomes even less telling of Eurysaces' identity, beyond the aforementioned problems with using this portrait as an example of freedman art.

This is not to say that the tomb does not contain other elements to suggest that Eurysaces may have been a former slave. Not only his Greek name<sup>29</sup> but also the glaring absence of filiation in the monument's three inscriptions imply that Eurysaces might have been a freedman. Filiation, the specification of one's father, was the one thing that almost any freeborn citizen would have included in his name if it was his to claim (an ex-slave could not make such a claim but instead might indicate that he was the *libertus* of his former master). The presence of filiation would thus function as an unambiguous sign of freeborn status, but, by the same token, its absence does not mean that Eurysaces was necessarily a *libertinus*. In fact, not one single element of Eurysaces' monument makes an explicit or undeniable reference to either an ex-slave or freeborn status, perhaps indicating that his precise legal status was not so important. Thus, without either a legal-status designator or filiation, it must remain uncertain whether Eurysaces was freeborn or a freed slave; his legal standing is an unsolvable problem for the present. Nonetheless, nearly every discussion of Eurysaces' tomb makes reference to Eurysaces' alleged servile past.<sup>30</sup>

### Trimalchio Vision

The near-universal acceptance of Eurysaces' identity as a freedman has led to a thorny methodological trap that has plagued scholarship on this tomb. To anyone with more than a passing interest in Roman social history, mention of the word "freedman" brings to mind the fictional character Trimalchio, an ex-slave in Petronius's first-century novel the *Satyricon*. An unforgettably humorous character, Trimalchio represents the stereotypical vulgar freedman as seen through the eyes of Rome's aristocracy. However, because we lack written testimony by former slaves themselves, with the notable exception of epitaphs, scholars have traditionally invoked the fictional Trimalchio as a means of understanding the attitudes of historical ex-slaves. This desire to see Roman ex-slaves from the elite perspective that is so heavily dependent on the figure of Trimalchio I shall call "Trimalchio vision."<sup>31</sup> To pick but one example of Trimalchio vision, architectural historian Sir Howard Colvin connects the unique appearance of Eurysaces' tomb with the ostentatious display of Trimalchio:<sup>32</sup>

Occasionally, a very rich man would insist on a pretentious display that broke away from the normal conventions of his class. Outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome there still stands the egregious monument of M. Vergilius Eurysaces . . . [who had his] literary counterpart in the vulgarly rich merchant satirised by Petronius as Trimalchio.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps less overt, but equally symptomatic of the methodological issue is Eve D'Ambra's recent assessment of Eurysaces' tomb: "That the planning of one's tomb allowed for

invention and creativity emerges from evidence such as Trimalchio's vision of his monument with images encapsulating his meteoric acquisition of wealth, and from caprices such as the Tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

To establish what is at stake in Eurysaces' monument (and in Roman art history in general), we must take a quick literary detour. Petronius, who produced the *Satyricon* in about 60 C.E., is generally thought to have been a consul and intimate of the emperor Nero. His text unequivocally presents an elite perspective of nonelite individuals. In one chapter ("Cena Trimalchionis"), Trimalchio hosts a dinner party, throughout which he unwittingly presents himself to his guests as a boorish freedman ludicrously displaying his wealth as he attempts to impress his dinner guests with his rise from "mouse to millionaire" (77),<sup>35</sup> despite the obvious disjunction between his pretensions of being an elite member of society and the hard reality of his servile past. During the dinner, Trimalchio enthusiastically tries to persuade his guests that he can be- have just like, or that he has already achieved the status of, an elite Roman. However, as the narrator and Petronius's readers are all too aware, this is a charade. Despite his tremendous wealth, Trimalchio's servile past will forever prohibit him, in the eyes of Petronius and other elites, from rightfully claiming the status of an elite citizen, in part because he cannot claim a freeborn status or an illustrious family lineage.

Trimalchio's fruitless struggle to lift his identity from that of a lowly slave to a respectable, if not elite, Roman citizen is nowhere more poignantly demonstrated than when, at the end of his party, he unabashedly reads the contents of his will to his dinner guests and commissions one of them, Habinnas, to build his tomb. Trimalchio proceeds to describe in great detail his conception of his final resting place.<sup>36</sup> It becomes apparent that this fictional ex-slave's primary concern is to perpetuate his memory, so that he will live on long after he is gone, and to this end, Trimalchio engages a number of exaggerated devices. He imagines a tomb complex so grand that it would not go unnoticed. Its vast area (100 by 200 feet) would be large enough to contain an orchard and a vineyard.<sup>37</sup> In the center of the monument, a sundial would be erected. Although it would probably be of the semicircular type (rather than a tall vertical feature, like Augustus's obelisk), it would nonetheless command the gaze of a passerby, because it was functional; anyone wanting to know the time could look at it and in the process would read Trimalchio's name.<sup>38</sup> His tomb's pictorial program and epitaph would be filled with many inflated biographical details, permitting a viewer to readily learn of Trimalchio's monetary and civic achievements in life, including his generous acts of benefaction. Petronius thus presents an ex-slave who seems to think that his successful rise from slavery would justify his over-the-top funerary monument.

Because of its "undiluted realism" and great attention to detail, the story of Trimalchio and his dinner party has seemed to provide a fairly convincing framework with which to understand the lives and attitudes of historical ex-slaves.<sup>39</sup> After all, the life of ex-slaves was a particularly challenging one, in which their concerns could be conceived as similar to those of Trimalchio: how to re-create oneself and one's identity while assimilating into Roman society as one of its newest citizens. And so convincing is the upwardly mobile figure of



Trimalchio that nearly every study that examines historical freedmen makes some type of reference to Petronius's character, as if his *fictional* life inevitably represented the *historical* lives of former slaves.<sup>40</sup> But such an assumption overlooks the problem that the satire likely reflects elite anxiety about wealthy freed slaves, who were encroaching on what had been the elite's exclusive domain. Thus, when historians talk about Trimalchio as if he were a historical individual rather than the literary construct that he is, they risk perpetuating elite, pejorative attitudes about ex-slaves (in other words, stereotypes) rather than getting closer to understanding the multifaceted and diverse intentions of historical ex-slaves.

Across studies of Roman funerary practice, philologists, archaeologists, and art historians alike often mine Trimalchio's description of his funerary monument when analyzing monuments, especially tombs, belonging to historical non-elite persons, including former slaves, as a way to understand their motivations in funerary practice. For example, Nicholas Purcell, in his analysis of the development of the street of tombs in Roman Italy, opens his article with Trimalchio's tomb commission. He justifies his use of this passage by claiming:

It is not wholly inappropriate to begin this discussion with the example of a tomb which never existed; because to understand properly the patterns of evolution and development in Roman—or indeed any—funerary architecture and practice, we must go beyond the physical remains. After a certain point these can only be mute, and they must be given voice by other evidence for the thought-world of the builders and occupants. Petronius is pursuing an image for Trimalchio which is at once vulgar, laughable, modish and recognizable; and much of the social setting of the Roman street of tombs is revealed here.<sup>41</sup>

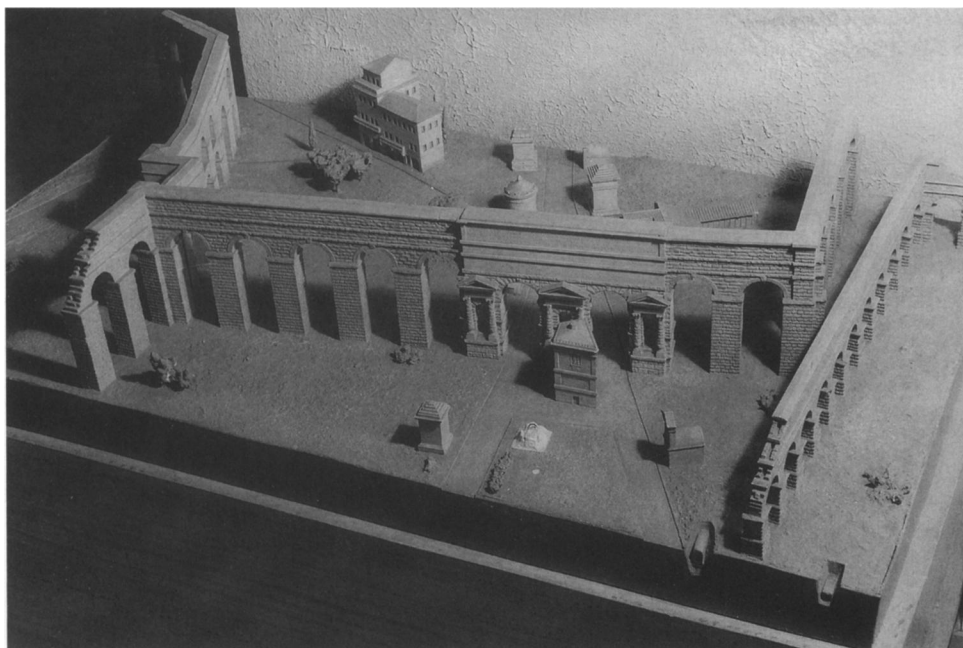
Purcell's statement gets at the heart of the methodological issue that we too often disregard. Because archaeological evidence provides us with only so much information, we rely on literary sources. Ancient texts thus become a means to interpret the archaeological remains, and, given the fragmentary material evidence, this method certainly has many benefits; to compare texts only with texts, or monuments only with monuments, may impoverish the study of both. Although texts as much as monuments are cultural constructs and therefore deeply comparable on a structural level, scholars have tended to use the Petronian text as a template for analyzing monuments, and, taken to its logical conclusion, this strategy potentially produces elitist, if not reductive, ways of looking at tombs and funerary practice in a tremendously heterogeneous society (not to mention chronologically confused comparisons between actual monuments of freed slaves and Petronius's fictional account of Trimalchio's tomb). If we permit Petronius to speak for all other Romans, his attitudes risk becoming erroneously equated with the attitudes of historical tomb builders and occupants, collapsing Petronius, Trimalchio, and historical freedmen into a single, monolithic "thought-world" (to use Purcell's terms for intentions, motivations, or attitudes).

In more recent scholarship, the lure of the Trimalchio passage persists. For instance, Jane Whitehead engages it in

her analysis of biographical narration in Roman "middle-class" funerary art, but her approach is almost the reverse of Purcell's.<sup>42</sup> In an analysis of the Petronian text and surviving funerary monuments, Whitehead seeks to reveal "the responses that the description of these motifs [of Trimalchio's tomb] would have stimulated" by comparing the text with surviving funerary monuments commissioned by the "middle-class," which included freedmen.<sup>43</sup> Refreshingly, she implicitly questions the extent to which we can use the Petronian text as she discusses what corroboration may exist between text and image. In the end, however, she invokes the language of the Petronian text in discussing the archaeological remains, thus deploying, perhaps subconsciously, the text as a template for interpreting the intentions and motivations of historical artistic patrons (rather than the other way around). Trimalchio's vision for his tomb has become Trimalchio vision.

Trimalchio vision is not a new phenomenon. The figure of Trimalchio appears early in the work of Bianchi Bandinelli, who was instrumental in segregating a category of art opposed to elite art by defining a plebeian sculptural style. While he does not exclusively associate freed slaves with the plebeian style, he does connect the plebeian style with Trimalchio's attitude.<sup>44</sup> Unwittingly, he (and Felletti Maj) initiated the trend of isolating and defining a style of freedman art that either ineptly aped elite models or clung to indigenous artistic traditions. Subsequent discussions of "plebeian art" have not avoided making comparisons with Trimalchio's tomb commission, to the extent that this tactic has permeated modern scholars' evaluations of art that historical former slaves commissioned and has led to the implicit categorization of any nonelite art that shares certain characteristics with Trimalchio's as being typical of "freedman art." This is not to say that the definition of "freedman art" is a given and universally agreed on among scholars. For some scholars, freedman art can be described as vulgar and ostentatious—like Trimalchio's fictional tomb commission. Others look for iconographical units (Whitehead), style (Bianchi Bandinelli), or relief portraiture (Zanker and Kleiner) to identify a work of art as being commissioned by a freedperson. However, in the end, with the exception of Kleiner, scholars tend to seek a definable category of freedman art, based in part on the character of Trimalchio. This type of categorization suggests an immutability of the intentions and visual features of art presumed to have been commissioned by freed slaves, notwithstanding both the diversity among former slaves themselves and the chimerical category of a freedman style in art in scholarly discourse. More serious, however, is that Trimalchio vision tacitly permits pejorative comments about nonelite art that can limit our appreciation of Rome's complex pasts; it reinforces rather than problematizes ancient, elite-authored stereotypes.

Because Eurysaces has been identified as a freedman and his monument as ostentatious, he and his tomb have both been subject to Trimalchio vision. From Colvin's perspective, as well as others, Eurysaces' commission is that of a status-hungry freedman who, just like Trimalchio, desired undeserved social recognition.<sup>45</sup> My intention is to look afresh at Eurysaces' monument with a different kind of vision. I begin by moving away from the tendency to place this tomb in a



**16** Model of the area surrounding the monument of Eurysaces. Rome, Museo della Civiltà Romana (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom-InstNegNr. 73.1016)

static category as a way to explain its appearance and meaning (I do not wish to play the is-he-or-isn't-he naming game with respect to the legal status of Eurysaces). Rather, I would like to put forward alternative approaches to the monument that are grounded in Roman funerary practice. My aim is to survey Eurysaces' practices of self-representation in the context of Roman tomb building and to explore the ways that a range of ancient viewers might have interacted with his monument. To accomplish this, I consider the tomb in its physical, cultural, and historical settings. Reexamining the monument in reverse of traditional approaches, which tend to start with the hypothetical reconstructions of the east facade, I shall consider Eurysaces' tomb from the perspectives of its three surviving facades first so as not to offer an interpretation that is dependent on the missing and problematic east facade.

### To Build a Tomb

When Eurysaces' tomb was constructed during the late Republic or early Imperial period, the area surrounding it had a different appearance from today's.<sup>46</sup> The tomb, situated near the merging of two ancient roads, the Viae Labicana and Praenestina, was but one funerary monument among a dense arrangement of tombs.<sup>47</sup> Its trapezoidal shape is best explained by the need to construct a monument to fit into a relatively awkward space—between two roads (north and south) and two preexisting tombs (one at the west and one at the east).<sup>48</sup> An aboveground aqueduct traversed the streets to the east of Eurysaces' monument, creating, in effect, a complicated zone of intersections as people and water converged at this point on their respective paths into the city of Rome (Figs. 16, 17).<sup>49</sup> In the absence of a city wall in this zone, the aqueduct must have provided a type of substitute; it framed an approach to the city along the Via Labicana, and it physically intersected the Viae Labicana and Praenestina to create a type of passageway architecture—much like a city gate.

What we often neglect to realize is that Eurysaces' tomb was situated in a potentially bustling area.

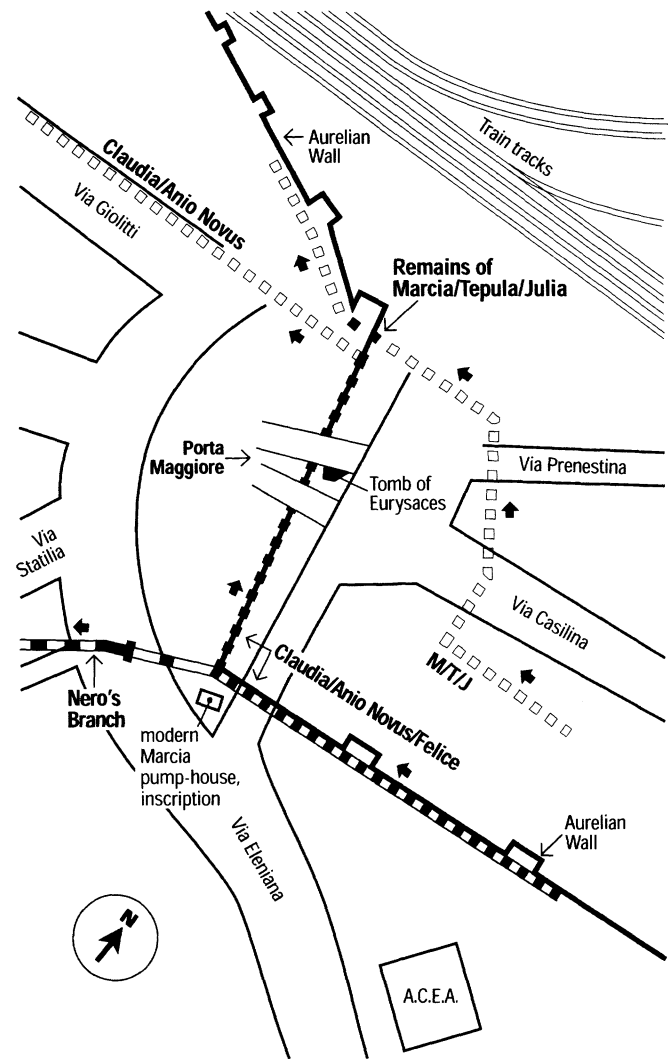
In general, Roman funerary monuments consisted of two elemental features—the tomb structure itself and an epitaph—designed to preserve and perpetuate the memory of the deceased. The tomb structure could be small or large in scale depending on the social and economic status of the individual and his family, while an epitaph literally inscribed the name of the deceased into stone to create a permanent record. Those who could afford the display of a portrait or image as well secured the perpetuation of their memory through the presentation of both text and image: two media, instead of one, recorded the existence of the deceased.<sup>50</sup> Because the necropolises of Rome were not permitted within the city's limits and, instead, radiated from the Servian Wall along thoroughfares leading to and from the city, a traveler along these streets must have been struck by the sheer number of memorials to the dead that hugged their borders (Fig. 18).<sup>51</sup> The active involvement of passersby with a funerary monument was a crucial component in Roman construction of memory; it ensured that the deceased would live on in the minds of the living. As Penelope Davies stresses, a tomb “has meaning only through those who look at it. It may speak, but is always dependent on the passerby to read it aloud.”<sup>52</sup> Along Rome's crowded streets of tombs, competition for attention could be intense. The success of a funerary monument thus depended in large part on a tomb's ability to call out to a viewer so that he would engage with the monument, read aloud the name of the deceased, and thus perpetuate that individual's memory.

More specifically, Henner von Hesberg argues that the aim in funerary art in the mid-first century B.C.E. was to separate or distinguish oneself and one's funerary monument from the crowd. He, among others, proposes that individuals engaged in exaggerated forms of self-promotion as they vied for recognition and remembrance.<sup>53</sup> Practices of exaggerated, if



not undeserved, self-promotion in the funerary sphere thus were not limited to freedmen. For instance, Zanker notes that the tremendous and self-aggrandizing tomb of a noblewoman named Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia (ca. 30 B.C.E.) celebrates in no uncertain terms a military victory of her husband, although the victory was a modest one that most Romans would not have cared about (Fig. 19).<sup>54</sup> The inflated self-representation creates what Zanker calls a “bizarre disparity between the form of a monument and its content” among Rome’s nobility.<sup>55</sup> Another effect of this unabashed competition was the priority individuals placed on obtaining a good site for a tomb, one that had maximum visibility, preferably along a heavily trafficked road (Fig. 18). Competition for notice spilled over into the Augustan period as individuals commissioned new and novel types of attention-commanding funerary monuments.<sup>56</sup> For example, the pyramidal tomb of the magistrate Gaius Cestius Epulo notably marks the cityscape with its sheer monumentality and gleaming white surfaces (Fig. 20).<sup>57</sup> Tombs could also be designed to manipulate passersby into interacting physically with them. The exedra tomb of one of Pompeii’s elite female citizens, Mamia, takes the form of a large curved bench that encourages travelers (then and now) to sit and rest after journeying to town and, while doing so, to remember the deceased named in the inscription along the bench’s interior wall (Fig. 21).<sup>58</sup> To viewers who could read, an epitaph could also “call out” to passersby with pleas such as “I pray you read it willingly, and read it again, don’t let it bore you, my friend.”<sup>59</sup>

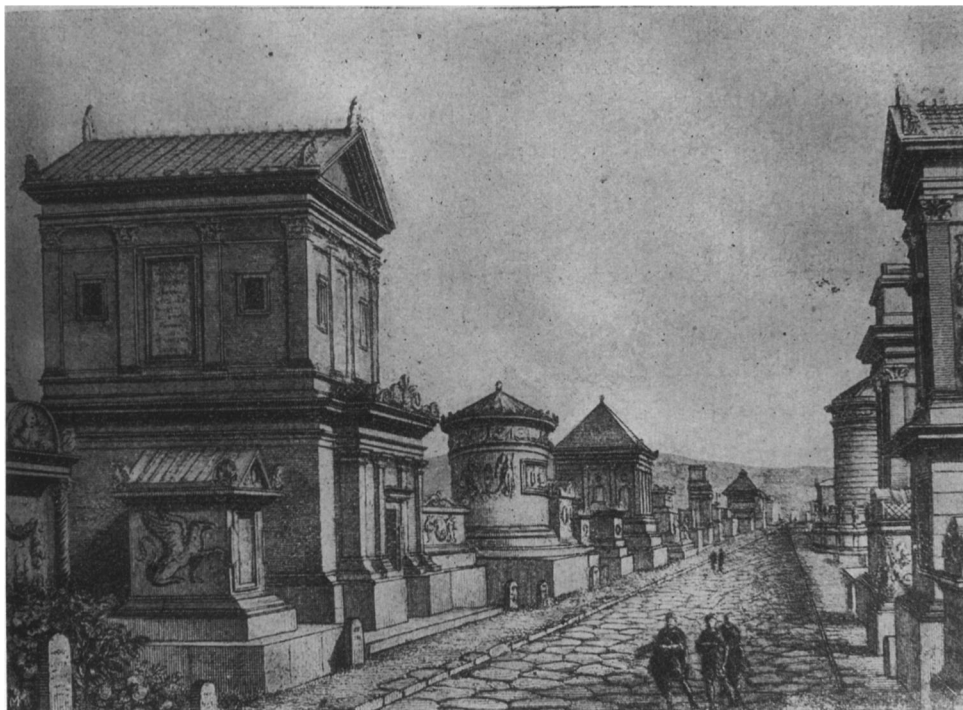
A closer look at the tomb neighborhood of Eurysaces’ monument can provide us with a glimpse of the competition that Eurysaces confronted in the perpetuation of memory and perhaps some reasons for his tomb’s siting and unique visual strategies. It could be argued that of the monuments nearby, Eurysaces’ tomb was at one time the most noticeable (which is conceivable once we “erase” the imposing structure of the Porta Maggiore, which partially obstructs a view of its western facade, while “replacing” several smaller tombs that were situated near his monument). Despite our lack of information about the superstructures of the nearby tombs (lining the Via Labicana and adjacent to Eurysaces’ monument), we know that Eurysaces’ tomb had to contend with at least one of his neighbors. Just inside what is now the Porta Maggiore, and therefore near the monument of Eurysaces, T. Statilius Taurus, who rose to power with Augustus and was second only to Agrippa in power (and who constructed an amphitheater in 29 B.C.E.), built a monumental tomb for himself, his descendants, and hundreds of his slaves. The material remains of the tomb suggest a multistory funerary monument, like Eurysaces’ tomb, but it contained over seven hundred *loculi* for burial.<sup>60</sup> Also nearby was the first-century B.C.E. tomb of the members of the *Societas Cantorum Graecorum* (the inscription was found on the Via Labicana at the Porta Maggiore). Although we do not know the appearance of this tomb, the immediate model of the sodality of performers in the Greek language may have provided inspiration for the bakers Eurysaces and Ogulnius.<sup>61</sup> Farther from the tomb of Eurysaces, but part of its neighborhood, rose the *Sepulcrum Quinctiorum*, the tomb of an ex-slave couple (and many others), who use *libertus/liberta* as part of their nomenclature



17 Map of the area surrounding the monument of Eurysaces by Peter J. Aicher (from Aicher, *Guide to the Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, 54, map 5; courtesy of Peter J. Aicher and reproduced with the permission of the publisher, Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda, Ill.)

(in addition, the wife, like Atistia, is designated as *uxor* [wife]). Like the monument of Eurysaces, this tomb, built of mixed materials with only limited use of marble, once had an imposing street facade.<sup>62</sup> It could be argued that in its design, Eurysaces’ tomb participated in dialogue with its neighbors—freed slaves and (elite) freeborn alike.

Given the late Republican, and to some extent early Augustan, climate of political self-promotion, along with intense competition in the funerary realm, Eurysaces, by no means a political figure but an owner of a large-scale baking enterprise, risked not only anonymity on his death but, presumably, the weakening of the social standing of his family as well. In commissioning his tomb monument, he (or his dependents) was faced with the problem of how to give the family standing by perpetuating his memory. It would seem that Eurysaces carefully exploited the potential of captivating his primary audience, different kinds of travelers along the roads—workers, magistrates, slaves, members of the army, women, among a myriad of others—by designing an unambiguously externally oriented tomb; the tomb contains no



18 Tombs along the Via Appia, Rome, reconstruction (from J. Ripostelli, *La via Appia à l'époque romaine et de nos jours: Histoire et description*, 2d ed. [Rome: Desclée, 1908], 231)



19 Tomb of Caecilia Metella, Rome (photo: Fototeca Unione, 1109)

interior chamber, so whether passersby or family visited the tomb, the monument's exterior is what solely spoke to them.<sup>63</sup> Second, of often understated importance, he located the tomb on a plot of land between two main thoroughfares into the city. Eurysaces seems to have taken full advantage of the plot's unique location to draw viewers not from just one, but from two roads, thus potentially doubling the size of his audience.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, most tombs, as they lined the street, had a single, street-facing facade. Precisely because Eurysaces' monument is located at the *convergence* of two roads, at least two facades (and not just one), communicated

to a single passerby either approaching or departing Rome, who would first encounter one of the monument's two shorter sides (east or west) and then one of its longer facades (north or south) as he traveled along either road (Figs. 16, 17).<sup>65</sup>

Eurysaces' monument presumably rose above the other tombs in its immediate vicinity (with the possible exception of the tomb of the Statilii), its height therefore distinguishing it from the others.<sup>66</sup> But, more than that, the monument, as far as we know, is one of a kind, containing features on its three extant facades not seen elsewhere in Roman sepulchral practice—those unusual grids of circular forms that would have disrupted the repetition of traditional columnar facades and round tumuluslike structures along a single street of tombs (Fig. 18). Atypical geometric patterns potentially differentiated the tomb and called out visually to a passerby. In an atmosphere of intense competition, Eurysaces' tomb might have also attracted the interest of passersby with its novel second-story columns—not traditional fluted columns with capitals but unadorned cylindrical forms that function like (and thereby make allusion to) columns. I suspect that both the circular forms in the third story and the cylinders below might have piqued a passerby's interest just enough to move him to pursue the identification of this monument's owner. In addition, if the east facade reconstructions are correct, then the tomb would include common tomb features as well—portrait and epitaph. The tomb would thus have incorporated traditional and nontraditional elements in funerary architecture, so that, like the epitaphs that plead for the traveler to stop and read, and read again without boredom, the novel facades of Eurysaces' tomb must have encouraged a viewer to stop and engage actively in its visual program, while making use of and allusion to familiar elements in Roman tomb building.





20 Pyramid tomb of Gaius Cestius Epulo, Rome (photo: author)



21 Exedra tomb of Mamia, Pompeii (photo: author)

### Of Work, Citizenship, and Wealth

There were, of course, as many ways to read Eurysaces' monument (both visually and verbally) as there were ancient viewers, and the effect that the monument had on ancient viewers may or may not have been Eurysaces' motive, just as Eurysaces' intent (which we can never really know) may not have produced the effect he desired.<sup>67</sup> What follows, then, are hypothetical readings of Eurysaces' tomb based on vari-

ous levels of perception. Several factors would have contributed to how a passerby interacted with and read any monument, including, among others, gender, age, nationality, and social status. In order to tease out more general ideas, I will consider levels of perception based primarily on issues of visual and verbal literacy (that is, what viewers could read) and, to some extent, how an individual's social status could affect his reading of a monument.<sup>68</sup>

The people of Rome, who might actually have known Eurysaces or known of him, composed the audience he presumably cared about most. They would have encountered Eurysaces' monument on leaving Rome (and again on returning) and thus interacted first with its narrowest (west) facade, with its two rows of circular forms (Fig. 4), at the merging of the *Viae Labicana* and *Praenestina* and, after proceeding down one of the two roads, would encounter either the south or north facade.<sup>69</sup> It seems that the west facade, in tandem with either the north or south facade, offered two interrelated ways of perpetuating Eurysaces' memory with a carefully scripted, unified message—with text and image, each in varying degrees depending on the capabilities of each passerby and viewing circumstances (for example, a quick read, repeated readings over time, a lengthy read). Because the pictorial frieze depicts scenes of bread production, it could corroborate the contents of the epitaphs below, in which Eurysaces identifies himself in at least two of the inscriptions as a baker and baking contractor (on the west and north facades). To ancient viewers the inscriptions may have functioned as generalized labels for the friezes, but even so, viewers were encouraged to remember, via words or images, or both, Eurysaces as the owner of a large-scale baking enterprise and the labor that he controlled.

Because literacy rates in Rome may have been quite low (10 to 15 percent), the pictures in the frieze were potentially important for keeping alive Eurysaces' memory for a viewer unable to read words in the inscriptions (unless words like names could be read as a kind of picture).<sup>70</sup> The frieze indeed provides the most detailed information about Eurysaces' large-scale baking operation. Yet the ways ancient viewers read the frieze differ from how scholars view it today. We typically study the images in the frieze with close-up photographic reproductions published in books. On the monument, the frieze was about twenty-eight feet above the eye level of ancient viewers, making it likely that the details of the frieze seen clearly in photographs were not so clear to ancient viewers. Moreover, the frieze measures on average twenty-three inches in height and was thus not the most visible or the most visually arresting element of the monument's ensemble.<sup>71</sup> Traces of paint in the frieze on the west facade (red on the scale and yellow on the loaves of bread and baskets) suggest that the entire frieze was painted to increase legibility for someone standing at the base of the monument.<sup>72</sup> In addition, certain pictorial devices allowed for a quick and general reading of the frieze from below, permitting a viewer to ascertain readily that Eurysaces was the owner of a large-scale baking establishment alive with activity both of workers in short tunics and official-looking togate figures.

Indeed, as a passerby left Rome and encountered first the west facade, he might have scanned its frieze quickly for some information about the occupant of this unusual tomb. This relief is filled with a number of figures (sixteen), and its subject risked illegibility from below. However, a large balancing scale divides the relief field roughly in half; it occupies the greatest amount of space within the composition, and it is clearly articulated, with no excessive detail (Fig. 7). A passerby could have comprehended the weighing of some object and that the deceased intended to assert that he was

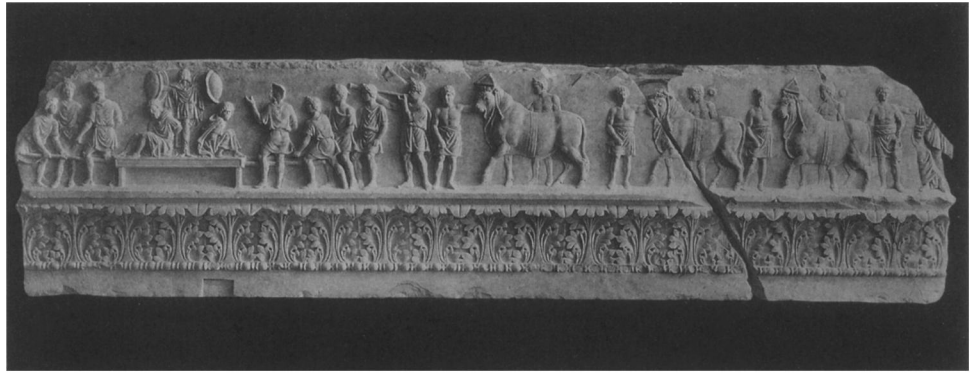
honest in his business dealings—a message that would have had particular relevance to the people of Rome (that is, the people with whom Eurysaces conducted business).<sup>73</sup> The yellow paint used for the loaves may have permitted the viewer to discern loaves of bread on the scale. Furthermore, dress marked out two different ranks of figures—the active workers wearing short tunics with their legs exposed and individuals dressed in togas, some of whom must have been officials overseeing the weighing of bread. Even if he missed the details, a viewer would presumably grasp the representation of a familiar process—the weighing of something in a workshop, probably in the presence of officials dressed in togas. An eastward traveler then went on his way and, in doing so, passed another facade (either the north or south facade) that would reveal more clearly Eurysaces' profession as the owner of a baking enterprise.

The original center of the south frieze (a portion of the right side is missing) also contains a focal point—two large grinding mills (Fig. 5). The repetition of highly recognizable forms (of objects familiar from bakeries) would immediately have attracted a viewer's attention.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, the portrayal of these grinding mills could signal to a viewer that the owner of this monument had some association with baking. The composition of the north frieze, although we lack a significant portion of its left side, seems to have facilitated a similar reading. Near the original center of the frieze stands a tunic-clad figure at a large oven (Fig. 6). His wide stance seems to be repeated in the figure who stood to the left (we see only one of his legs today, but the angle of the leg suggests a stance similar to that of the figure at the oven). The dual images of ovens near the center of the composition would have functioned like the grinders on the south facade or the scales on the west facade. They provided a viewer both with a means of quick access to the otherwise crowded composition and with an unambiguous message that the owner of this monument asserted connections to the profession of baking.

In general terms, we might also characterize the frieze as depicting figures in fairly high relief against an even background, resulting in the representation of a single pictorial plane; as offering figures that vary in the quality of their execution, some more carefully delineated than others—the details on the torso of the kneaders (Fig. 6) versus the awkwardly balanced man to the right of the scales (Fig. 7); and as portraying isolated figures that generally occupy the entire height of the relief field (unless they are bent over as they perform a task). Rather than linking the unclassically rendered scenes of everyday life with a stylistic tradition (such as plebeian or Italic), as is so often done,<sup>75</sup> I would like to consider the effect of the overall appearance of the frieze on viewers standing below. The neutral background, against which the figures are set in relatively high relief, creates clearly articulated, distinct individuals and thus facilitates identification of the activities taking place. The exaggerated poses of the sifters, basket carriers, and kneaders produce a dynamic effect, encompassing all the activity as part of a large enterprise. Viewers might have recalled similar friezes from public buildings, such as the triumphal frieze decorating the interior of the temple of Apollo Sosianus (30s B.C.E.), which was also placed far above the viewer's eye level (Fig. 22).<sup>76</sup> In the triumphal frieze, figures are distinctly depicted against a



22 Triumphal frieze from the temple of Apollo Sosianus, Rome. Rome, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori (photo: Fototeca Unione, 5993F)



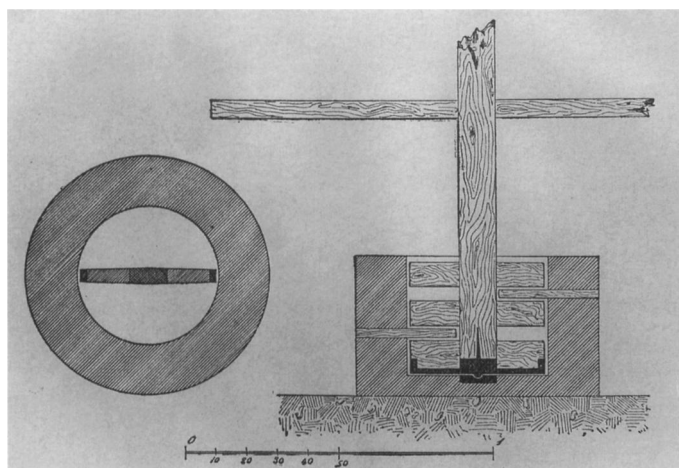
neutral background; the captured barbarians at left are isolated and passive and wear different dress than the active Romans, making it easy to distinguish the former from the latter. In both the temple's and Eurysaces' friezes, compositional and stylistic choices likely presented viewers with direct and easily identified scenes when viewed from below. Thus, the vignettes of Eurysaces' profession—baking—enabled an ancient passerby to grasp the icons and activities of bread making in an immediate way, just as a viewer could readily grasp the icons of triumph in the triumphal frieze.

Eurysaces may have also offered his viewers another layer of reading. When Eurysaces (or his dependents) commissioned the frieze for his monument, he became one of the first not only to represent scenes of bread making but also to depict scenes of work in general on his funerary monument.<sup>77</sup> It seems that Eurysaces' designers had no artistic precedents for depicting scenes of commercial bread making. The monument's distinctive and novel frieze thus works well in the competitive atmosphere of the late Republic (and early Augustan period) in which Romans strove for innovation in the funerary sphere. More than that, viewers may have connected the frieze of bread making as a purposeful adaptation of triumphal friezes, suggesting a new theme—a triumph, of sorts, of bread making. This extra, perhaps unexpected, layer of reading may have enticed a viewer to interact further with the tomb and learn more about its occupant.

Beyond asserting his profession as a baker, the tomb presents Eurysaces (verbally and perhaps visually as well) as a Roman citizen. Many figures in the frieze wear the toga, a garment that only Roman citizens were permitted to wear. Paola Ciancio Rossetto has attempted to identify Eurysaces as one of the togate figures in several scenes of the frieze, although ancient viewers may not have made such precise identifications.<sup>78</sup> It is my intention neither to agree nor disagree with Ciancio Rossetto's identifications but to suggest that ancient viewers may have understood the togate figures more broadly as citizens, state officials, Eurysaces, or as signifying something else altogether. If, however, a viewer did want to read some of the frieze's figures as depicting the owner of the baking operation, then he presumably would have identified him as wearing a toga (rather than as a slave in a work tunic), and the toga itself would have signified Roman citizenship. More telling of Eurysaces' free status is the inscription on each facade, which displays his name, or rather all three of his names—Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces. It

is precisely his *tria nomina* that signals unambiguously that he is a Roman citizen, whether freed or freeborn (slaves had only one name). Even if an illiterate viewer could not fully comprehend the epitaph, he could *see* or recognize the *tria nomina*, thereby permitting him to “read” Eurysaces' identity as a Roman citizen. It is important to emphasize again that nowhere on his monument does Eurysaces make explicit reference to his *specific* legal status, excepting his Roman citizenship via the presentation of his *tria nomina*. That is, he asserts neither a freeborn nor a freed slave identity but, more generally, his free status. Just as we cannot be entirely certain that Eurysaces was a freedman (the evidence is circumstantial), so ancient viewers might not have read an ex-slave identity from the epitaphs.<sup>79</sup>

Whatever the status of Eurysaces, the overall success of his baking enterprise could not have been lost on an ancient viewer. The tomb's sheer size, conspicuous appearance, and building material—travertine, which was certainly more costly than the standard tufa—probably functioned as markers of Eurysaces' accumulation of wealth. Additional markers could be read by the more literate viewers. The unparalleled beginning of Eurysaces' inscriptions with “est hoc monimentum” (this is the monument) might have been significant. Olle Brandt recently argued that there is no other example of a funerary inscription that begins with this particular phrase; Eurysaces seems to declare boldly that this monument is his.<sup>80</sup> Because inscriptions tend to be formulaic, deviations from the standard pattern are likely meaningful. Such a deliberate expression of property ownership in a funerary context can be interpreted in a couple of ways. First, Eurysaces' declaration may have functioned as a means of protecting his funerary monument. In place of the abbreviation H.M.H.N.S (hoc monimentum heredem non sequetur—this monument does not pass to an heir) commonly seen on epitaphs, Eurysaces might make a similar provision through an emphatic statement that this is his property and his alone.<sup>81</sup> With this interpretation, we might consider the possibility that this phrase had the same effect as the columnar cylinders above the inscriptions; both are playful and unique (but recognizable) deviations from standard funerary motifs and would thus fit well into the innovative spirit of the late Republic and early Imperial periods.<sup>82</sup> Second, by declaring the monument as his, the phrase demonstrates that Eurysaces belongs to the propertied class. We might therefore think of the phrase “est hoc monimentum” on each of the three



23 Kneading machine, plan and section (from August Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, trans. Francis W. Kelsey [New York: MacMillan, 1899], fig. 214)

facades as announcing that this monument is indeed the property of Eurysaces, with the “this” most likely referring to his tomb, but also possibly referring to his baking enterprise and, importantly, to its labor.<sup>83</sup> While the monument’s scale and material and the declaration that this was his monument together might have signaled significant wealth and property, it is unlikely that a Roman viewer would have mistaken Eurysaces for an aristocrat, who would have been defined by wealth and family nobility and political office rather than by work and wealth alone. Even so, in marked contrast to scholars’ assertions, the identity that emerges from the monument is not necessarily that of a freedperson. Work, citizenship, and wealth—rather than any presumed libertine status—are the dominant features of the tomb’s verbal and visual program.

After ascertaining Eurysaces’ professional identity and status as wealthy citizen, a curious viewer would probably return to the attention-grabbing circular forms in the third story. The unusual presence of the circles in the zone between the inscriptions and frieze must have been cause for contemplation, and their position in the monument’s composition suggests a connection between epitaphs and frieze, and thereby with Eurysaces’ profession. Scholars have in fact connected these circular forms with objects used in the baking profession, such as vents for an oven, grain measures or storage containers, and grinding and cooking machines.<sup>84</sup> But by far the most convincing identification, presented by Ciancio Rossetto, is that these objects represent kneading machines (oriented on their sides), an image of which appears on the westernmost side of the north frieze (Fig. 6). Kneading-machine basins found at Ostia Antica and Pompeii strongly resemble the circular forms in Eurysaces’ tomb in size and appearance.<sup>85</sup>

I would like to go a step further and propose that these features are not simply representations of a baker’s equipment. There exists a square depression at the back of *each* circular basin, most of which ancient viewers could see because of the horizontal placement of the basins (the square depressions remain quite visible today).<sup>86</sup> Within the square depression of each cavity, reddish rust stains can be discerned

to varying degrees (this aspect is visible only on close inspection).<sup>87</sup> The square depressions (and rust stains) are quite telling. The exact same type of square depression is present in the bottom of surviving kneading machines in Ostia and Pompeii; these depressions were carved to support a metal mount (some of which still survive), which bore the wooden kneading apparatus (which have not survived) (Fig. 23). The presence of the square depression and metallic stains together in Eurysaces’ basins suggests that in antiquity the depression supported a metal mount for a wooden axis, as was necessary for a kneading machine, raising the provocative possibility that these basins were actual kneading machines and not mere tomb decoration; that is to say, standard objects taken from Eurysaces’ profession may have been literally incorporated into his monument.<sup>88</sup> As objects taken from daily life, they are a form of *spolia* for display in a funerary context.<sup>89</sup> The incorporation of everyday objects for constructive reuse on a tomb is to my knowledge unique in funerary architecture, and it must have seemed novel to a viewer, perhaps even humorous.

Eurysaces appears to present to passersby actual objects (kneading-machine basins) lifted from his manufactory and placed in his tomb, but this identification raises certain problems. These basins are made from travertine, a fine material not standardly used for kneading machines.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, had these objects been taken from his business, it would have suggested that Eurysaces’ business died with him (rather than being passed on to his family or dependents). With no obvious explanation for the use of travertine and the rust, we might think about the kneading machines as virtual *spolia*.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps the basins were made to resemble kneading machines through the “reuse” of visual traits, complete at one time with a metal mount and a wooden axis, even as the material, travertine, suggests that the basins were not intended to function in a bakery setting. Rather, the basins seem to have been created specifically for Eurysaces’ tomb while made to appear as functional kneading machines, in which case metal mounts may have been present and subsequently stripped, thus leaving the rust stains (the removal of metal from monuments for reuse was a fairly common phenomenon). A comparable example of virtual *spolia* can be found at the mausoleum of Augustus, in front of which were placed two uninscribed, red granite obelisks, suggestive of *spolia*. Not necessarily artifacts taken from Egypt as triumphal booty, these perhaps, as Davies suggests, signified a “captured” Egyptian heritage designed as part of Augustus’s visual *res gestae* (things achieved) for his funerary monument.<sup>92</sup> In a similar vein, it seems that Eurysaces (or his builders) went to great lengths to create the illusion that his tomb’s circular features were kneading machines or *spolia* so as to present viewers with his *res gestae*.<sup>93</sup> Viewers might have recognized the presentation of kneading machines or, at the very least, connected the circular basins with the baking profession, but they might not have known whether they were functional kneading basins or virtual *spolia*. There existed, therefore, a certain tension between what a viewer might have understood and what Eurysaces presented. The same could be said of the pairings of vertical cylinders in the second story.

Due to the third-century destruction of the eastern facade, two truncated vertical cylinders that belong to the north





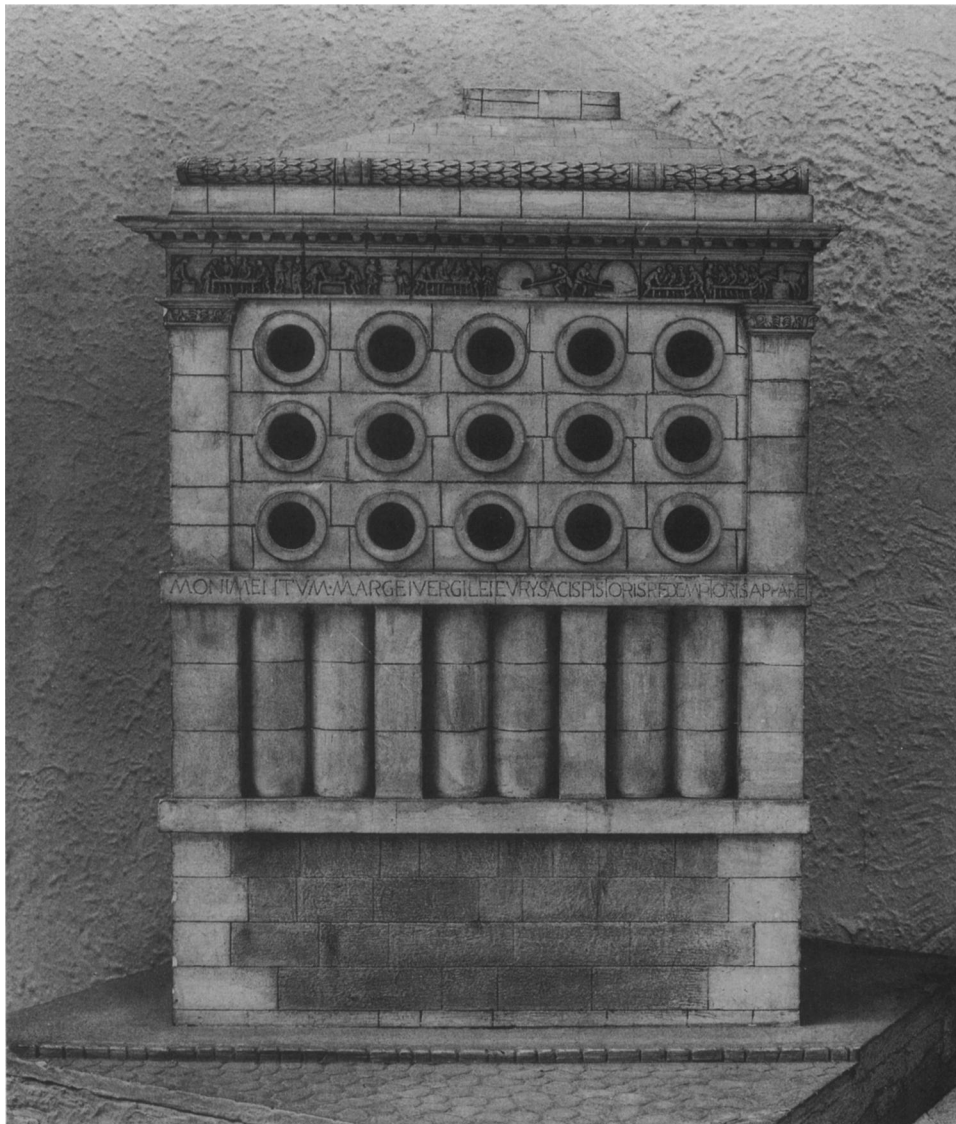
**24** Monument of Eurysaces, kneading machine basin in the cylinder at the northeast corner, view inside the basin (from Ciancio Rossetto, fig. 26)

facade are now exposed (Figs. 2, 8). Ciancio Rossetto has convincingly argued that the shortest of the two broken cylinders was originally constructed from three stacked kneading basins, as she discovered a carved square depression at the bottom of what would have been the central basin identical to those in the basins placed horizontally above (Fig. 24).<sup>94</sup> A pair of seams on all of the other “cylinders” on the three facades makes clear to us that each vertical “cylinder” on the monument is in fact composed of three stacked kneading basins (Fig. 25).<sup>95</sup>

An ancient viewer, struck by the circular cavities in the upper story, might have tried to reconcile the circles with the cylinders below them, reading the circular forms as horizontally placed cylinders, counterparts to the vertical cylinders.<sup>96</sup> However, two features might have frustrated this reading. First, the vertical cylinders do not align with the circles above, creating a visual disjunction. Second, a viewer could in all likelihood see the back of the shallow, horizontally placed basins (in the upper story), thus inhibiting their conceptualization as exact counterparts to the tall vertical cylinders below. An astute or patient viewer might have seen the seams of each cylinder and hypothesized that the vertical cylinders were in fact stacked versions of the basins above, but he could never be entirely certain of this correspondence. It would be clear to him, though, that the monument displays an obses-

sive and insistent repetition of things having to do with baking—the frieze, inscriptions, and the “spoliate” kneading basins in the third and perhaps second story—and, as we shall see, the monument’s repetition may have been cleverly alluded to with the problematic word *apparet* at the end of two of the inscriptions, if interpreted in a witty manner to mean “it is obvious,” as John Bodel has suggested.<sup>97</sup> It was indeed obvious that Eurysaces owned a successful baking enterprise, notwithstanding elements of the tomb’s design that were not so obvious and required the viewer to puzzle them out.

I have proposed that an ancient viewer, whether able to read its inscriptions or not, would have understood this monument as belonging to an enormously successful professional involved in the baking industry. Not only does his monument, one of the largest in its area, emphatically celebrate Eurysaces’ involvement in bread making, but the sheer number of kneading machines present on the monument (sixty-three, including the cylinders) further points to Eurysaces as the owner of an incredibly large baking operation.<sup>98</sup> To that extent, ancient viewers must have identified Eurysaces primarily by his work. This identification is often fraught with problems in modern scholarship, the most notable being the tendency to link work identities specifically with freedmen, with the unfortunate result that individuals like Eurysaces become identified as freedmen in part because they repre-



**25** Model of the monument of Eurysaces. Rome, Museo della Civiltà Romana (photo: Hutzel, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom-InstNegNr. 72.2565)

sent themselves vis-à-vis their work.<sup>99</sup> It must remain conjecture whether ancients made such a specific connection.

Nonetheless, as many have long pointed out, a discrepancy exists between elite attitudes toward work and the prevalent self-representation of nonelite individuals as workers.<sup>100</sup> Cicero, among other writers representing an elite perspective, claimed that manufacturing and commerce were vulgar endeavors.<sup>101</sup> In Cicero's view, the profession of baking, although not explicitly cited as vulgar, would not be considered respectable because the accumulation of wealth primarily comes from manufacturing and selling bread, whereas landowners' activities (that is, agricultural endeavors), while still considered profitable, were noble. Cicero's perspective is not unique among the elite, and Sandra Joshel suggests that his sentiment derives from an anxiety felt among elite citizens, who feared that financially successful businessmen and tradesmen, like Eurysaces, would challenge noble birth as *the* claim to elite status.<sup>102</sup> Business- and tradesmen's accumulation of wealth through "corrupt" work therefore became an object of scorn in the elite's attempt to assert traditional Roman values and the elite's privileged position in society.

Numerous images of work on funerary monuments and

the identification of an individual by his work title on epitaphs indicate that the ideology of the elite was not necessarily shared by working nonelite individuals, a decidedly diverse group. One possible explanation for the abundant epigraphic and visual testimony of workers is based on the idea that nonelites aspired to elite culture and thereby imitated it with the only means they had—through work—since they could not participate in military and political endeavors and achievements. In general, this model assumes that workers felt a certain pride in their work and therefore celebrated their profession in a public, funerary context.<sup>103</sup> Scholars have indeed applied this model to Eurysaces' tomb.<sup>104</sup>

In a different vein, Marleen Boudreau Flory proposes that a job title connected an individual with others who shared similar jobs, thus creating a type of group familial identity.<sup>105</sup> According to this model, workers would not have understood claims of work as a pretension of elite status. Joshel builds on Flory's arguments by hypothesizing the reading of a single image of work or of the claiming of a job title coming from two possible positions.<sup>106</sup> The owner of an enterprise that employed labor experiences an enhanced social status by the mere presence of workers,<sup>107</sup> whereas a worker, while readily



comprehending his dependence on those of higher social standing, could also read society's dependence on his very own labor. This subversive reading was one that offered a type of empowerment to workers, who, by naming their job titles, reversed power hierarchies.<sup>108</sup> The claiming of work therefore functioned as an expression of pride in work and, more important, afforded an opportunity for workers to displace their subjugation. Joshel's model is particularly appealing as it offers a fairly positive reading of work from the point of view of both workers and the owners of their labor.

Because Eurysaces immortalized his working identity as a baker and baking contractor for his fellow Romans, we might engage these different perspectives as a way to think about how various audiences might have understood Eurysaces' position in society. An elite passerby perhaps stopped and contemplated his tomb because of its uniqueness but then moved on; the tomb, after all, was a worker's display and therefore vulgar. In the eyes of the elite (like Petronius or Cicero), Eurysaces might have been an object of anxiety, as his tomb, built out of his financial success in manufacturing, rivaled those of the elite, such as the nearby tomb of T. Statilius Taurus (an office-holding individual of high rank). However, the situation may not have been so simple. While some elite Romans' reactions may not have been dissimilar to Cicero's sentiments, others probably did not react so strongly. For example, the emperor Claudius (r. 41–54 C.E.) chose to preserve Eurysaces' monument in his program for the Porta Maggiore, whereas other tombs did not fare so well.

In a different vein, the tomb could potentially speak to the realities of Eurysaces' workers, as the frieze in particular mirrored their daily tasks. A communal work identity could also be ascertained because Ogulnius (a baker of white bread) appears to have possessed a more modest tomb in the vicinity of Eurysaces' monument. Together, Eurysaces' monument and Ogulnius's tomb might have signaled a baking community, much like a professional funerary guild, to which the workers of each might have felt they belonged (not unlike the nearby tomb of the performers of the Greek language). Within this community, Eurysaces likely appeared as the more successful of the two, with his much larger monument. Among those in his peer group, then, Eurysaces would appear at the top of the hierarchy; he distinguishes himself as the owner of the factory, not one of its workers. His monument might have also empowered the individuals working in his baking enterprise, as they readily comprehended Eurysaces' dependence on them in achieving his financial success. At the same time, Eurysaces' tomb might have provoked resentment by some who worked in his baking operation, as they would have known all too well that he exploited their labor to make money and had built a tomb from the money earned from their sweat. Whatever reaction Eurysaces' monument might have provoked, it was one that probably centered primarily on his professional identity rather than a presumed freedman identity.

### An Unforgettable Baker

Whether or not Eurysaces amassed his wealth by supplying bread to the army or to the public ration, his financial success as a baker enabled him to construct a large and noticeable funerary monument.<sup>109</sup> In addition, Eurysaces' monument

potentially struck Romans in a profound way, as it reveals how they depended on Eurysaces for their own survival. Grains, and the product of those grains, bread, constituted the primary staple of the Roman diet—for plebeians and army alike. Without bread, many Romans would have gone hungry.<sup>110</sup> In fact, throughout the mid-first century B.C.E., Rome was plagued with famine and riots over the food supply, most notably, the grain shortages of 58–56 and 43–36 B.C.E., and again in the 30s–20s B.C.E., when Augustus was compelled to take charge of the grain supply personally.<sup>111</sup> Thus, to the extent that Eurysaces' tomb makes clear that his baking enterprise was an exceptionally large one, it could also engage viewers by announcing in no uncertain terms that Eurysaces fed his fellow Romans during times of instability by identifying (both visually and verbally) his profession as baker and baking contractor.

However, this image of Eurysaces as a baker who saved Rome takes only half of Eurysaces' identity into account. His baking enterprise was clearly a money-making one that permitted Eurysaces to present himself as both baker (*pistor*) and contractor (*redemptor*). More than that, he presents himself as interacting with state authorities, especially in the west frieze, in which bread is weighed and recorded in the presence of many officials, and possibly, as we shall see, in the inscriptions as well.<sup>112</sup> I return now to the problematic word *apparet*, appearing at the end of two inscriptions. This word has been traditionally translated as either “he appears” or “public servant.”<sup>113</sup> With the latter interpretation (the more conventional translation), ancient readers could identify Eurysaces as a public servant working with the state to secure grains and bread for the people.<sup>114</sup> As Eurysaces' tomb makes unforgettable his role in feeding Rome, so, too, it displays the grand scale of his baking enterprise and his status as part of the workings of the state. Eurysaces thus makes it visually manifest—whatever his social origins—that he was a powerful player in Roman society.

Repetition and multiplicity may have also played a role in facilitating the perpetuation of Eurysaces' memory as a powerful baker. In the three nearly identical inscriptions, Eurysaces' written claims that he was a baker are repetitive among themselves and are redundant insofar as the pictorial program and virtual *spolia* are concerned. Ancient viewers might have read another layer of redundancy. If Bodel's witty interpretation of the problematic word *apparet* as “it is obvious” is also plausible, the inscriptions could contain a double wordplay to read, “This is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, a baker, contractor, and public servant; it is obvious.” A reader of this text might have thought it indeed obvious that Eurysaces was a baker; the inscriptions that name his profession were hardly necessary to make that point. In fact, Eurysaces' memorial to his profession, almost more than to himself,<sup>115</sup> verges on being obviously obvious and thus truly memorable. However, although the inscriptions seem lightheartedly redundant, they have the important task of naming Eurysaces so that a viewer could read *his name* and keep alive *his memory*.

Similarly, the formal repetition of the unusual architectural features may have facilitated the inscription of this monument in memory. This idea gains support if, as von Hesberg and Zanker suggest, we can assume that during the



26 Marble urn in the form of a cylindrical basket. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frederick E. Guest, 1937, 37.129ab (photo: all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

years 50–20 B.C.E., ever increasing numbers of architectural features, especially columns, came into use to distinguish aristocratic tombs from one another.<sup>116</sup> Eurysaces might actually have beaten the elite at their own game. Not only did he incorporate many “columns” into his monument but also his “columns” took a unique form, as they were made by stacking three kneading machines; he thus found a clever way to distinguish himself from others by subverting classical features with ordinary, everyday objects, those objects serving to underline his profession (and perhaps making a joke at the expense of the elite). One or two circular forms in the upper story of each facade would not have had the same effect as the appearance of many. The monument is in fact wholly redundant, and I propose that the repetitions of its three surviving facades and inscriptions exist to increase the chances of their message sticking in a viewer’s mind.<sup>117</sup> A viewer, as we saw, was encouraged to interact with more than one facade, making the monument all the more memorable.

Roman orators were well aware that the best way to remember a speech was to fill architectural places in the mind with vivid and striking images that were relevant to the topic to be remembered.<sup>118</sup> Eurysaces’ monument, with different stories and unique features, each associated with some aspect of Eurysaces’ business, seems much at home with a memory system built on a route that locates ideas and concepts in specific, memorable sites. To the people of Rome, Eurysaces’ monument must have been a memorable sight/site celebrating the professional identity of a baker; that identity is what viewers would remember first and foremost. Even today, people more often than not refer to his monument as the “baker’s tomb.”

We can fairly assume that the tomb’s eastern facade, whatever its appearance, participated in this dialogue of self-

representation and memory. While the attribution of the relief portrait and Atistia’s epitaph to the eastern facade is merely conjecture at present, the possibility that they belong to the monument should not be overlooked.<sup>119</sup> The variant reconstructions of the east facade display the portrait and epitaph as an ensemble in the center of the upper story (Figs. 12, 14, 15),<sup>120</sup> where it would have been the most prominent feature, distinguishing it from the visual programs of the other facades. Here, the primary audience would have consisted of people returning to Rome (who had presumably encountered Eurysaces’ tomb previously, as they left the city) and people who lived outside of Rome entering the city.

I would like to privilege here a viewer approaching Rome for the first time because his reading may have been different from those who already knew of Eurysaces and his monument. As he encountered first the east facade (assuming the reconstructions to be generally accurate), an individual may have attempted to read this facade’s epitaph and, in so doing, connected this monument to a woman named Atistia, who was a wife of an unnamed man (“fuit Atistia uxor mihei”). Eurysaces’ *tria nomina*, repeated three times elsewhere on the monument, is conspicuously absent from this epitaph and perhaps from the entire facade. In this case, a traveler could not have read Eurysaces’ name until proceeding to another facade (north or south). However, the naming of Atistia as “my wife” in the epitaph and the portrait of the two figures could function together as written *and* visual testimony of the depicted couple’s married status, which itself had important implications. Because the right of legal marriage was one granted solely to Roman citizens, the husband of Atistia announces his Roman citizenship as well as the free status of Atistia. This sign of Roman citizenship would have been accessible to most viewers. Moreover, the fact that he wears a toga, another sign of Roman citizenship, confirms this reading of his legal status. Again, nowhere does Atistia’s epitaph give any precise indication that she, or her husband, may have been former slaves (possibly excepting the unusual use of *uxor*, which could link Eurysaces’ tomb with the nearby tomb of the ex-slave Quinctius and his family, which also makes use of *uxor*). Whether he be freeborn or a freed slave, Atistia’s husband unambiguously constructs his identity, as well as his wife’s identity, more generally as a Roman citizen on the monument’s eastern facade. To people outside of Rome, what mattered most was that Atistia and her husband belonged to the city they were approaching. They would first understand them in the context of citizenship, then, as they proceeded to another facade (north or south), of work.

In this scenario, the profession of baking, so emphatically celebrated on the three other facades of Eurysaces’ monument, would have been accessible only to a literate reader of Atistia’s epitaph, and even so, the reference is oblique. What the reader would learn is that Atistia’s husband placed his wife’s remains “in this breadbasket [*in hoc panario*].” Since the phrase “this breadbasket” appears on the last line of the inscription, it was the easiest to read visually and thus may have been significant (Fig. 11). The entire phrase “in this breadbasket” is thought to refer to Atistia’s remains as being in a stone cinerary urn, resembling a covered cylindrical basket.<sup>121</sup> The (now-lost) urn recovered at the time of the monument’s discovery is suggestive (Fig. 13). While women



were sometimes buried in urns that resembled wool baskets as a way to evoke domestic virtue (Fig. 26), to my knowledge, no other Roman reference to the word *panarium* has been applied specifically to an ash urn. While this urn shares aspects with a wool basket, it is a stretch to connect Atistia's presumed urn and the statement about her remains as being in a breadbasket with her domestic virtue. Rather, what would be celebrated with the phrase "in hoc panario" is the baking profession.<sup>122</sup> If Atistia was Eurysaces' wife, Atistia's identity would have been constructed vis-à-vis her husband's work; she was the wife of a baker, and therefore her urn seems to celebrate his work rather than her virtue (unless she, too, had been involved in the business, in which case Eurysaces identifies husband and wife within the baking enterprise).

I suggest that there might also be more behind the phrase "in this breadbasket" than the simple, yet oblique, reiteration of a baker's work identity. The baker, consumed by a passion for his work, may have seen the world, his life, and his death through baking and bread.<sup>123</sup> For a large-scale baker of Rome the unusual use of the word *panarium* in a funerary context (an urn in the form of a breadbasket) thus may have seemed wholly appropriate. If baked bread is stored and presented in a basket, is this a case of the husband, a baker, presenting Atistia's cremated (baked) remains in a basketlike urn? Could this epitaph also be an attempt at humor, albeit dark? There are indeed instances of wit in epitaphs, centering on either a name or a profession. For example, a manager of actors makes witty reference to his work in theater by claiming, "I've died many times, but never like this."<sup>124</sup> Some witticisms were outright jokes at the passerby's expense. One ancient relief slab depicts a skeleton with the epitaph: "Who can tell, passer-by, having looked at a fleshless corpse, whether it was Hylas [the epitome of youthful beauty] or Thersites [the epitome of ugly senility]?"<sup>125</sup>

Eurysaces' epitaph to his wife—if this identification is correct—could have functioned as a play on his profession. His claim that he placed his wife's remains in a breadbasket alludes to his profession as a baker while piquing the interest of a curious (literate) passerby. That curiosity would have been answered as a traveler approached Rome and encountered one of the other not-so-subtle facades (north or south, declaring that indeed Eurysaces was a baker by profession). In doing so, he would understand Eurysaces' joke.<sup>126</sup> Whether the viewer perceived the joke as distasteful or clever, Eurysaces' monument, by inspiring curiosity and perhaps laughter (or disgust), would have manipulated a passerby into physically and intellectually interacting with his monument, and with that interaction came a better hope for remembrance. So while neither the portrait nor epitaph securely belongs to the east facade of Eurysaces' tomb, they both fit extremely well as part of Eurysaces' (or his tomb designer's) carefully constructed appeal to the traveler arriving in Rome.

By extricating Eurysaces' monument from the template of "freedman art," I have offered several ways of looking at the baker's tomb so that it is considered in its broader cultural and funerary contexts (a strategy that, to be sure, has its own biases). I began by hypothesizing how ancient viewers may have interacted with Eurysaces' monument and suggested some responses that it might have elicited, alone and in



27 Tomb of C. Cartilius Poplicola, Ostia Antica (photo: Fototeca Unione, 13180)

dialogue with tombs nearby. I have proposed that whether he be a freedman or not, Eurysaces was striving first and foremost, like all other Romans of his day, for immortalization, and he did so with both the ordinary (a multistory tomb with epitaph) and the extraordinary (the unusual columns and kneading basins above). To this extent, the visual strategies of Eurysaces' tomb are not unlike others of the same period, elite and nonelite alike. To make one final comparison, the noticeable tomb of C. Cartilius Poplicola, just outside the Porta Marina in nearby Ostia (ca. 30–20 B.C.E.), celebrates the deceased's civic and military achievements, in no uncertain terms, with both a lengthy inscription and pictorial reliefs (Fig. 27). Like Eurysaces' tomb, it was crowned with a "triumphal" frieze, here depicting the military victories of Poplicola, and displayed prominently on its facade (beneath the frieze) sixteen gigantic fasces in relief, virtual *spolia* of his career in public office (he was elected eight times as *duovir*, the city's highest magisterial office).<sup>127</sup> Further comparisons could be made between the tombs of the *duovir* and the baker in terms of material (tufa, travertine, and marble), singularity, and sheer visibility, all of which further attest to how monolithic the thinking about "freedman art" has been despite the fact that a city's highest magistrate and one of Rome's bakers engaged similar strategies for recognition in the funerary sphere. The dichotomy between elite and non-elite art begins to dissolve in the funerary realm, as individuals made unique choices that are difficult to isolate generically into categories (such as elite, nonelite, and even freedman). In this respect, I have argued that Eurysaces, a baker and Roman citizen of some wealth, participated wholeheartedly, yet frankly and honestly (and in certain ways cleverly), in the Roman rituals of remembrance, and I have hypothesized ways that the monument encouraged a passer-

by's interaction so as to guarantee that Eurysaces would live on in the minds of the living—as a baker who fed Rome and as a Roman citizen himself. Whether it elicited scorn, awe, laughter, or a smile, Eurysaces' tomb and its story became part of a traveler's journey in and out of Rome.<sup>128</sup> The baker's monument was in fact a sight/site that a traveler could recount to others after his journey, then as now. Eurysaces' tomb thus functions as a *monumentum* should; it not only preserves Eurysaces' memory, it also links the past with the present.<sup>129</sup> And, so long as Eurysaces' monument continues to capture the interest of visitors to Rome, it, and the baker, will remain utterly unforgettable.

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## Notes

In memory of Max.

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1. For this tomb's closest typological comparisons (multistory aedicular tombs), see Michael Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im suburbium Roms*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*,

suppl. 26 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1986), 92–94; and von Hesberg, 121–60 (also translated into Italian as *I sepolcri romani e la loro architettura*, trans. Lelia di Loreto [Milan: Longanesi, 1994], 144–85). For a monographic study of the tomb of Eurysaces, see Ciancio Rossetto. For a useful article on the state of the research of this tomb since Ciancio Rossetto's monograph, see Brandt. See also P. Ciancio Rossetto, "Sepulcrum: M. Vergilius Eurysaces," in *LTUR*, vol. 4, 301–2.

2. West facade inscription (*CIL* 1.2, 1204). North facade inscription (*ibid.*, 1203): [EST HOC MONIMENTUM] M MARCEI VERGILEI EURYSACIS PISTORIS REDEMPTORIS APPARET ([This is the monument] of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, baker and contractor, public servant). South facade inscription (*ibid.*, 1205): EST HOC MONIMENTUM MARCI VERGILI EURYSAC[IS] (This is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysac[es]). The translation and meaning of the last word on the west and north facades, *apparet*, is problematic. At issue is whether *apparet* is a form of the verb *apparere* (to show oneself, to be in public) or an abbreviation for the noun *apparitor* (a servant, especially a public servant—licitor, scribe, military aide, priest, and so on). For bibliography on this debate, see Ciancio Rossetto, 36 n. 32. She believes that *apparet* functions as a verb; *apparet* would presumably indicate that Eurysaces presents himself publicly as a baker. Alternatively, Filippo Coarelli, *Roma* (Rome: Laterza, 1980), 225–27, interprets *apparet* as an abbreviation for *apparitor*. For an insightful study on *apparitores*, see Nicholas Purcell, "The Apparitores: A Study in Social Mobility," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983): 125–73. Two questions arise from this last interpretation: Why would an abbreviation be used here if all other words in the inscriptions are fully spelled out, including the genitive of Marcus, which normally appears as M. in Roman inscriptions (especially given the relatively limited space available), and how do we explain the misspelling of *apparitor* (an "e" in place of an "i")? This last question was posed by Bill Thayer, Romearch Website, [www.acad.depauw.edu/romarch](http://www.acad.depauw.edu/romarch), Mar. 21, 1999. John Bodell, responding to Thayer on the Romearch Website, Mar. 31, 1999, took a different approach. He suggested that *apparet* can be interpreted in a witty manner to mean "it is obvious." Although Bodell's interpretation does not derive directly from either of the traditional senses, its play on the verb form of *apparere*, as we shall see, may be quite appropriate for this particular context.

3. For the strongest proponents of the theory that Greek names can be used as indicators of a slave or former-slave status in the Roman Empire, see Tenney Frank, "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire," *American Historical Review* 21 (1916): 689–708; and Lily Ross Taylor, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome," *American Journal of Philology* 82, no. 2 (1961): 113–33, esp. 127. In addition, see A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 55–56; and Iiro Kajanto, "The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina," *Latomus* 27 (1968): 517–34.

4. The literature on Roman social relations is vast. For a reasonable and concise account of Rome's social hierarchy, see Natalie Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1981), 23–28. Also see Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), esp. 107–59; Joshel, esp. 25–61; and essays in Andrea Giardina, ed., *The Romans*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

5. See Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Center of Power*, trans. Peter Green (New York: G. Braziller, 1970), 51–105. He argues that the classical style in Roman art is preserved for classical themes and for art commissioned by the ruling elite (aulic style), while, in contrast, a plebeian style surfaces in art in the municipalities, in art of the lower classes, and in depictions of Roman civic activities, such as the census panel of Marcus Antonius's base (otherwise known as the so-called altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus). Bianchi Bandinelli's stylistic designation (plebeian versus patrician) creates a binary opposition between the two styles of Roman art, and in the process, a type of intellectual slippage occurs in unconditionally linking unclassically rendered forms with plebeian artistic commissions, as if art commissioned by plebeians was necessarily and essentially bound to this form of artistic representation. Bianca Maria Felletti Maj, *La tradizione italica nell'arte romana* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1977), offers a correction to Bianchi Bandinelli's theory. She suggests that the unclassical style in Roman art belongs more broadly to an Italic tradition, since it appears on a number of monument types, including Imperial commissions, such as the triumphal frieze on the Arch of Titus (for Eurysaces' monument, see 246–64). However, it should be borne in mind that her argument is equally reductive and essentializing, as it reinforces dichotomies rather than allowing for a spectrum of possibilities.

6. For instance, Zanker, 1975; Kleiner, 1977; Kampen (as in n. 4); Henning Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum: Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1981); Eve D'Ambra, "A Myth for a Smith: A Meleager Sarcophagus from a Tomb in Ostia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988): 85–100, 311; Joshel; and John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

7. On the debates concerning the date of the monument of Eurysaces, see n. 46 below. It should also be noted that the ancient level of the Via Praenestina was higher than that of the Via Labicana (Fig. 15; see n. 11 below).

8. See n. 2 above.

9. The height of the frieze ranges from 23 to 24 inches. For a more complete discussion of the images decorating the frieze, see Ciancio Rossetto,



41–67. For a good discussion of the stages of bread making in Roman times and for the archaeological evidence of bakeries, see Betty Jo Mayeske, “Bakeries, Bakers, and Bread at Pompeii: A Study in Social and Economic History,” Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1972.

10. The tomb of Eurysaces disappeared from view in the years 271–75 C.E., when the emperor Aurelian built a new wall around the city of Rome, thus enclosing a greater area of the city than had been enclosed by the Servian Wall of the 4th century B.C.E., and, in doing so, engulfed the monument of Eurysaces in the central, semicircular tower of a new city gate. It is thought that the tomb provided a “tempting core” for the builders of the tower, who, in the process of incorporating it into the tower, destroyed the eastern facade, perhaps to make more regular the irregular trapezoidal shape of the monument. For a history of the Porta Praenestina-Labicana, see Ian A. Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome: An Account of Its Architectural Development from Aurelian to Narses* (reprint; College Park, Md.: McGrath, 1971), 205–17; Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 412–13; and, more recently, G. Pisani Sartorio, “Muri Aureliani: Porta Labicana” and “Porta Praenestina,” in *LTUR*, vol. 3, 304–5 and 310–11. A drawing from 1538 suggests that the tomb was at least partially visible in the 16th century. For a list of drawings, prints, and other testimony of the tomb’s existence prior to its liberation from the tower, see Ciano Rossetto, 3–4.

11. Work began in January 1838 and lasted until 1839 under the direction of L. Grifi. In June 1838, the excavators discovered the monument of Eurysaces. The area around the tomb was cleared away, and work in the area concluded in September 1839, when a protective wall was erected around the tomb to ensure that the monument was entirely visible, including its lower story below the modern street level. For a full account of its discovery, see Ciano Rossetto, 4–6, and, for reproductions of the official 1838–39 excavation reports, 75–79. Since the rediscovery of this monument, sporadic excavations continued in the area of the Porta Maggiore. Work in the Piazza di Porta Maggiore in 1912–13 revealed tracts of the underground Anio Vetus aqueduct (Ciano Rossetto, 12–16). In 1917, excavations were conducted to learn more about the demolished late antique city gate in an attempt to compensate for the lack of photographic documentation before its destruction. The results of these investigations yielded information on the ancient road levels. See L. Mariani, “Lavori di sistemazione alle porte di Roma,” *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (1917–18): 193–217, esp. 195–207. Forty years later, excavations conducted between 1955 and 1959 helped form the basis for much of what we now know about the topography of the site. See Ciano Rossetto, 17–22.

12. *FUIT ATISTIA UXOR MIHEI / FEMINA OPITUMA VEIXSIT / QUOIUS CORPORIS RELIQUAE / QUOD [sic] SUPERANT SUNT IN / HOC PANARIO* (CIL 1.2, 1206).

13. Diana Kleiner, 1977, 22–25, suggests that a visual clue that a couple is married, when they are not shown in the traditional clasping of hands (*dextrarum iunctio*), as with Atistia and her husband, is the turn of the heads toward each other. Atistia’s head was stolen from the stele in 1934, but a photograph taken before the theft of the head shows that she gazes downward and slightly to her right. Atistia’s husband looks to his left, in her direction. Ciano Rossetto, 36–38. The width of the inscribed panel (about 43 inches) closely corresponds to the width of the relief sculpture (about 46 inches). Moreover, the epitaph, with its architectural features flanking the text, could have functioned as a type of pedestal for the full-length relief portrait. The epitaph measures about 43 by 28 inches, and the relief about 46 by 81 inches, with a depth of about 20 inches. Ciano Rossetto, 35–37.

14. For arguments for this reconstruction, see Canina, “Descrizione del luogo denominato anticamente la Speranza Vecchia, del monumento delle acque Claudia ed Aniene Nuova, e del sepolcro di Marco Vergilio Eurisace, ivi ultimamente scoperto,” *Annali dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 12 (1838): 202–30, esp. 226–29, pls. I–M. Ciano Rossetto, 65, argues that there would not have been enough room to support the two vertical rows of circular forms shown in Canina’s reconstruction. See Italo Gismondi’s reconstruction, which eliminates these features (Fig. 15).

15. Ciano Rossetto, 35–36. She cites the following examples of archaizing Latin in the monument’s inscriptions: *EI* used in place of an *I* for the genitive singular (Marci Vergilei); *E* used instead of *I* in *Vergilius*; and *G* in place of a *C* in *Margei*. In Atistia’s epitaph, the *XS* instead of an *X* in *veixsit*; and finally, the use of the archaic adjective *opituma* in place of *optima*.

16. Kleiner, 1992, 107.

17. Ciano Rossetto, 30, avoids attributing the breadbasket to the tomb because there is no firm evidence to do so (although she does not exclude the possibility either). In her recent guide to Rome, Amanda Claridge posits that the urn is in the Museo Nazionale Romano. Amanda Claridge, *Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 361. However, see Ciano Rossetto, 30 n. 19, for the problems she encountered in trying to locate the urn. Canina’s drawing may be our only evidence of its existence.

18. Taylor (as in n. 3), 121–22.

19. Kleiner, 1977; and Zanker, 1975. Also see H. G. Frenz, *Untersuchungen zu den frühen römischen Grabreliefs*, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1977; and, for a recent continuation of Zanker’s 1975 work, see Valentin Kockel, *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätrepublikanisch- und frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993).

20. Kleiner, 1977, 118–57. The man wears a toga, a sign of his Roman

citizenship, and is portrayed in a conservative, late Republican style, with deep-set eyes, sunken cheeks, sagging skin around the chin, and a balding head, while, according to Kleiner, Atistia seems to be depicted in more contemporary fashion, with an Augustan hairstyle (parted in the middle with a bun on top of her head).

21. See esp., Kleiner, 1977, 188, where she argues that these types of portraits “were executed solely for the freedman class in Rome”; and Zanker, 1975, esp. 279–80.

22. See Taylor (as in n. 3).

23. While it is not inherently misleading to identify a type of artistic commission generally generated by a certain segment of society, I am calling attention to the problem of concluding that Eurysaces was necessarily a freedman based on his alleged portrait (and Greek name, among other factors), despite an apparent lack of supporting and incontrovertible evidence of an ex-slave status.

24. See Brandt, 13–14.

25. The notes reveal that both the epitaph and the relief portrait seem to have been used as fill for the 3rd-century tower. See Richardson, 355. Mention of the portrait appears on two separate dates in the excavation notes. The first report, from June 28, 1838, vaguely indicates that a relief of two figures was uncovered near the top of the tomb; L. Grifi’s report (n. 3917), quoted in Ciano Rossetto, 36, 75. A few days later the following report elaborates on the first, indicating that the relief was found “three palms” beneath the frieze; L. Grifi’s report of July 4, 1838 (n. 3957), quoted in Ciano Rossetto, 36. Canina’s published report of the same year tells a slightly different story; it indicates that the relief portrait was found in the debris of the tower *above* the tomb. Canina (as in n. 14), 226.

26. It should be noted that in the same reports, Grifi indicates that the excavators also found two or three marble heads and many unworked fragments, presumably of marble; L. Grifi, n. 3917, quoted in Ciano Rossetto, 75; and idem, n. 3957, quoted in Ciano Rossetto, 75–76. Thus, other sculptural pieces were found in the fill of the tower along with the relief portrait and epitaph. Canina’s reconstruction of the eastern facade of Eurysaces’ monument does not attempt to integrate these fragments into the facade, and we might be wary of a reconstruction that selects only the relatively intact portrait and epitaph for prominent display in the otherwise missing eastern facade of Eurysaces’ monument.

27. Ciano Rossetto, 71–73. Unfortunately, we have no further evidence for reconstructing the appearance of this baker’s tomb.

28. OGULNIUS / PISTOR SIMI / AMICUS (CIL 1.2, 1207). One interpretation of the epitaph is that Ogulnius was a baker of white bread (*simi* [laginarius]) and that he was a friend of Eurysaces (*amicus* [Eurisacis]). See L. Canina, “Roma,” *Bullettino dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1839–40: 19–20 (cited in Ciano Rossetto, 72–73).

29. Despite the absence of a formal status indicator in his inscriptions, such as LIB or L, that explicitly states the libertine status of Roman ex-slaves, scholars have noted that the cognomen, Eurysaces, is a Greek one and have argued that the presence of a Greek cognomen strongly suggests a servile past, given that many slaves had Greek names. This argument is often invoked in attempts to reinforce scholars’ claim that Eurysaces was a freedman. See n. 3 above. However, many scholars have cast doubt on the efficacy of using non-Latin *cognomina* as indicators of former-slave status. See, for example, Mary L. Gordon, “The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 14 (1924): 93–111; Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 231–34; and P.R.C. Weaver, “*Cognomina ingenua*: A Note,” *Classical Quarterly* 58 (1964): 311–15. It is also worth noting that the name Eurysaces does not appear in the latest catalogue of Greek slave names, Heikki Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: Ein Namenbuch*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996).

Another factor that has been used to hypothesize a libertine status for Eurysaces is the full spelling of his *praenomen* in the genitive (Marci). G. Fabre suggests that freedmen enjoyed using their full *praenomen* (such as Marcus), rather than an abbreviation (M.), as a means of distinguishing themselves from slaves. See G. Fabre, *Libertus: Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la république romaine* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981), 199. Fabre, 157, believes that Eurysaces was a free man but not a Roman citizen.

30. For example: “Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces was a businessman of slave descent, specifically a baker, who compiled a considerable fortune selling bread to the army. . . .” (Kleiner, 1992, 105); and, “A freedman (ex-slave) who probably made his fortune supplying bread for the public ration in the mid-C1 BC, he [Eurysaces] was immensely proud of the source of his wealth” (Claridge [as in n. 17], 360).

31. Sandra Joshel, in her introductory chapter (3–24), “Listening to the Silence: Problems in the Epistemology of Muted Groups,” thoughtfully addresses similar methodological problems.

32. I recognize the limits of selecting an architectural historian with a broad range of interests rather than an ancient historian in making this point. However, Colvin’s statements are perhaps the most succinct and direct of those that I might have otherwise selected. Similar statements include Henner von Hesberg: “Even if freed slaves were always mocked for their presumed frenzy [or desire] for self-representation and for their inadequate respect for behavioral norms, as, for example, the figure Trimalchio, described by Petronius, demonstrated, the surviving monuments allow us to cite only rare

instances of this behavior. We should recall immediately, once more, the monument of Eurysaces. . . ." Von Hesberg, 1994 (as in n. 1), 274 (also in *Römische Grabbauten*, 239–40).

33. Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 96–97.

34. Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 113.

35. All translations of "Cena Trimalchionis" are from Petronius, *The Satyricon*, trans. William Arrowsmith (New York: Penguin, 1987).

36. Petronius, *Satyricon* 71: "First, of course, I want a statue of myself. But carve my dog at my feet, and give me garlands of flowers, jars of perfume and every fight in Petraites' career. Then, thanks to your good offices, I'll live on long after I'm gone. In front, I want my tomb to measure one hundred feet long, but two hundred feet deep. Around it I want an orchard with every known variety of fruit tree. You'd better throw in a vineyard too. For it's wrong, I think, that a man should concern himself with the house where he lives his life but give no thought to the home he'll have forever. But above all I want you to carve this notice: *This monument does not pass into the possession of my heirs*. In any case I'll see to it in my will that my grave is protected from damage after my death. I'll appoint one of my ex-slaves to act as custodian to chase off the people who might come and crap on my tomb. Also, I want you to carve me several ships with all sail crowded and a picture of myself sitting on the judge's bench in official dress with five gold rings on my fingers and handing out a sack of coins to the people. For it's a fact, and you're my witness, that I gave a free meal to the whole town and a cash handout to everyone. Also make me a dining room, a frieze maybe, but however you like, and show the whole town celebrating at my expense. On my right I want a statue of Fortunata with a dove in her hand. And, oh yes, be sure to have her pet dog tied to her girdle. And don't forget my pet slave. Also I'd like huge jars of wine, well stoppered so the wine won't slosh out. Then sculpt me a broken vase with a little boy sobbing out his heart over it. And in the middle stick a sundial so that anyone who wants the time of day will have to read my name. And how will this do for the epitaph?: *Here lies Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus, voted in absentia an official of the imperial cult. He could have been registered in any category of the civil service at Rome but chose otherwise. Pious and courageous, a loyal friend, he died a millionaire, though he started with nothing. Let it be said to his eternal credit that he never listened to philosophers. Peace to him. Farewell.*"

37. From epigraphic evidence, Werner Eck concludes that about two-thirds of the tombs in Rome record an average size between 10 and 20 Roman feet across the front of a tomb (compare with Trimalchio's 100 feet!), with a high percentage measuring between 10 and 14 feet. See Eck, "Iscrizioni sepolcrali romane: Intenzione e capacità di messaggio nel contesto funerario," in *Tra epigrafia prosopografia e archeologia: Scritti, rielaborati ed aggiornati*, Vetera, 10 (Rome: Quasar, 1996), 228–29. Also see Ann Christine Woods, "The Funerary Monuments of the Augustales in Italy," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1991, 74–84, for bibliography and a discussion of tomb sizes. See Nicholas Purcell, "Tomb and Suburb," in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung—Status—Standard*, ed. Henner von Hesberg and Paul Zanker (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 25–41, for a discussion of the development of the garden tomb, the type commissioned by Trimalchio. More generally, for typologies of funerary monuments in Rome, see Eisner (as in n. 1) and von Hesberg.

38. The incorporation of the sundial on a tomb may have been clever, too, as it could be connected with the passing of time and the coming of death. See the opening passage of Trimalchio's dinner party, in which readers learn that Trimalchio has a big clock in his dining room so that he would not forget how quickly time slips away.

39. John Putnam Bodel, "Freedmen in the *Satyricon* of Petronius," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1984, 2–3. Also see Bodel, 5–39, for a discussion of the problematic usage of the term *realism* in literature, and for a summary of the arguments that analyze the reasons behind Petronius's portrayal of freedmen.

40. For a review of the literature and for an insightful analysis of how Trimalchio might be useful for studying historical freedpersons, see John H. D'Arms, "The 'Typicality' of Trimalchio," in *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 97–120. Also see Bodel's dissertation (as in n. 39) for a nuanced analysis of how Petronius attempts to portray the psychological effects of having been a slave; and Bret Boyce, *The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius' "Cena Trimalchionis"* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), for a discussion of the "social schizophrenia" of Trimalchio. For other perspectives, see, for instance, Christopher P. Jones, "Dinner Theater," in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 185, who rightly observes that "much of Petronius' novel gives so realistic an impression that one readily forgets that it is not a document of social life, a slice of ancient life"; and, more generally, Joshel, who throughout her work stresses that we need to take into account the points of view of ancient authors.

41. Purcell (as in n. 37), 25.

42. Jane Whitehead, "The 'Cena Trimalchionis' and Biographical Narration in Roman Middle-Class Art," in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. Peter J. Holliday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 299–325.

43. Ibid., 300.

44. For instance, Bianchi Bandinelli (as in n. 5), 60, claims that "The

*Satyricon* of Petronius, a picaresque novel probably composed in Nero's reign, strikingly illustrates the mentality behind these manifestations. . . ." (that is, the urge for self-assertion, particularly among freed slaves, which he discusses in the preceding paragraph). Bianchi Bandinelli continues by linking Trimalchio's fictitious tomb commission with a tomb belonging to a historical freed slave (who was a local low-level magistrate) by proposing, "Perhaps the closest illustration of this passage from Trimalchio's Feast is to be found in the tomb of a *sevir* from Teate. . . ." Also see Bianchi Bandinelli, "Arte plebea," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 1 (1967): 7–19.

45. This idea will be problematized later in this essay.

46. The date of Eurysaces' monument is by no means secure, ranging from the mid-1st century B.C.E. to the mid-Augustan period. Evidence for dating the tomb comes primarily from three sources—the inscriptions, the building materials, and the style of the relief portrait. I shall assume that the monument dates to the late Republic or early Augustan period (50–20 B.C.E.) based on the following arguments. Scholars have studied the style of the inscriptions, in both appearance and content, on the three extant facades. Archaisms in the Latin inscriptions (both on the three facades of the monument and in Atistia's epitaph) suggest a late Republican date or possibly the preservation of late Republican style in the early Augustan era. See Brandt, 14–15, for a brief discussion of the state of the research of the inscriptions. Also see Matteo Massaro, *Epigrafia metrica latina di età repubblicana* (Bari: Istituto di Latino, Università di Bari, 1992), 36–37, for a discussion and bibliography. Richardson, 335, has suggested that the style of the alphabet belongs to the late Republic, approaching an Augustan style. Also see Lawrence Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (London: Batsford, 1991), 28–29.

The building material, the concrete core in particular, has provided another means of analysis for dating Eurysaces' monument. Esther van Deman, in her work on Roman construction techniques, identifies the concrete core, with its use of reddish brown tufa as an aggregate, as being Augustan in date, but she does not attempt to narrow the date any further. See E. B. van Deman, "The Methods of Determining the Date of Ancient Roman Concrete Construction," *American Journal of Archaeology* 16 (1912): 391–94. Ciancio Rossetto, 67, suggests a late Republican–early Augustan date. Based on the limited use of marble (none at all if the relief portrait and Atistia's epitaph belong elsewhere) and on the unusual capitals of the pilasters, she proposes a specific date of 30–20 B.C.E.—a date that would coincide with the late Republican and early Augustan date of the inscriptions. Also see Kockel (as in n. 19), 88, for a discussion of scholars' proposed dates for the monument itself.

Kleiner, 1977, 154–56, 138–39, has suggested a later, mid-Augustan date for the monument, between 13 B.C.E. and 5 C.E. Her conclusion is based on stylistic grounds—not of the monument itself but of the relief portrait. Because Kleiner's analysis essentially depends on a model of "trickle-down" aesthetics, she concludes that Atistia's drapery, namely her palla, corresponds with aristocratic examples between 40 and 13 B.C.E., but that her coiffure, which she argues imitates the hairstyles of aristocratic women of the mid-Augustan period, is an indicator of a "post-Ara Pacis period." Her proposed date of the monument is the latest one that has been suggested and seems to contradict the date of the material evidence arising from the monument itself. There are two ways out of this predicament. One, we can question again the legitimacy of joining this relief to the tomb of Eurysaces: a mid-Augustan portrait probably would not belong to a late Republican–early Augustan monument. Alternatively, we could consider the possibility that she misdated the portrait and that it, like the three inscriptions of Eurysaces' monument, was actually done in a traditional and conservative style of the late Republic, during the transitional period of the very last years of the Republic, or in the early Augustan period. Given the unfortunate fact that Atistia's head was stolen in the 1930s, Kleiner's assessment of her hairstyle depended on photographs rather than on firsthand observation. See Kockel (as in n. 19), 83, 88–90, for bibliography on the proposed dates of the relief, most of which cluster between 40–20 B.C.E., and for his proposed date in the years just before the mid-1st century B.C.E. If we accept the late Republican–early Augustan date for the relief, then the relief and monument are contemporary modes of self-representation, which would satisfy scholars who want to connect the two. However, whether Eurysaces' monument and the relief portrait belonged together in antiquity remains an unsolvable problem for the present.

47. One of the more significant discoveries during the last excavation campaign in the area of the Porta Maggiore (1955–59) was to the east of Eurysaces' monument, where excavators uncovered the foundations of several tombs that lined the northern side of the Via Labicana, now the Via Casilina (Ciancio Rossetto, 20, pl. 39). Both the Viae Labicana and Praenestina were important passages into the city of Rome. Although they merge a few yards beyond where Eurysaces constructed his tomb, they diverge again into separate approaches to the Servian Wall that surrounded the city proper. The gates of the city wall were fair distances from the tomb itself, about one mile. This situation is typical of tombs along roads leading to the city of Rome. Comparisons can be made with tombs along the Via Appia from the same period. See, for example, von Hesberg, 22–42.

48. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the two preexisting tombs between which Eurysaces inserted his tomb, except that Eurysaces seems to have destroyed part of the enclosure to the tomb at the west to make room for his, and, given the size of its foundation blocks, the tomb to the east seems to have been quite large. See Ciancio Rossetto, 17–22, for a discussion of the tombs adjacent to Eurysaces' monument, and pls. 39, 40.



49. The aqueducts existing at the time of the tomb's construction were the Aquae Marcia, Tepula, and Julia. All three joined at the seventh-mile marker on the Via Latina and approached Rome, parallel to the Via Labicana, in a single aboveground arcuated aqueduct structure. As the aqueduct neared the convergence of the Viae Labicana and Praenestina, it seems to have crossed both the Viae Labicana and Praenestina and advanced to the northwest before it ultimately fed Rome. See Ciancio Rossetto, 14–16, for a discussion of these aqueducts and their extant remains at the Porta Maggiore. For a useful survey of aqueducts in this zone and for bibliography on Roman aqueducts, see Peter J. Aicher, *Guide to the Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (Wauconda, Ill. Bolchazy-Carducci, 1995), 52–58, 80–92.

50. Michael Koortbojian, "In Commemorationem Mortuorum: Text and Image along the 'Street of Tombs,'" in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. Jás Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 210–33.

51. Except in extraordinary circumstances, tombs within the boundaries of the city were prohibited. When burial within city limits occurred, it was usually outside of the *pomerium*, the sacred precinct of the city (Trajan's Column is an exception to this rule). The reason for the exclusion of the dead from the city stemmed from fears of pollution. See J. A. North, "These He Cannot Take . . .," *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983): 169. For studies on the streets of tombs, see, for example, Koortbojian (as in n. 50); Purcell (as in n. 37); Giancarlo Susini, "Spelling Out along the Road: Anthropology of the Ancient Reader, or Rather, the Roman Reader," *Alma Mater Studiorum* 1, no. 1 (1988): 117–24; and other essays in von Hesberg and Zanker (as in n. 37).

52. Penelope J. E. Davies, "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997): 49. Also see her most recent work, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), particularly her chapter entitled "The Dynamics of Form," 120–35; and the study by Helmut Häusle, *Das Denkmals als Garant des Nachruhs: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Thematik eines Motivs in lateinischen Inschriften* (Munich: Beck, 1980). For an informative review of Häusle's work, see North (as in n. 51), 169–74.

53. Von Hesberg, 22–37; and Zanker, 1988, 5–31.

54. Zanker, 1988, 15–17.

55. *Ibid.*, 16–17.

56. Von Hesberg, 38–45, discusses how this scenario changed during the Augustan era. The consolidation of power under Augustus eventually limited external forms of display and self-promotion.

57. For a brief discussion of the tomb and bibliography, see C. Krause, "Sepulcrum: C. Cestius," in *LTUR*, vol. 4, 278–79. Also see Claridge (as in n. 17), 364–66; and Eisner (as in n. 1), 138–41.

58. On Mamia's tomb, see Valentin Kockel, *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herculaneer Tor in Pompeji* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), 57–59. See Davies, 1997 (as in n. 52), for an excellent analysis of how the Column of Trajan manipulated viewers into interacting with it. In the same essay, she also discusses other elite and nonelite tombs that were designed to engage passersby. My analysis of Eurysaces' monument is indebted to her methodologies.

59. *CIL* 11, 627, as translated in Susan Walker, *Memorials to the Roman Dead* (London: British Museum Publications, 1985), 61. More generally, see Häusle (as in n. 52); and Susini (as in n. 51).

60. D. Manicola "Sepulcrum: Statilii," in *LTUR*, vol. 4, 299; Richardson, 360; and *CIL* 6, 6213–621, 33083–190. For the amphitheater of T. Statilius Taurus, see A. Viscogliosi, "Amphitheatrum Statilii Tauri," in *LTUR*, vol. 1, 36–37; and Richardson, 11.

61. *CIL* 1.2, 2519; C. Lega, "Sepulcrum: Societas Cantorum Graecorum," in *LTUR*, vol. 4, 298.

62. *CIL* 1.2, 2527a; Richardson, 358. I would like to thank Barbara Kellum for bringing these three funerary monuments to my attention.

63. The door that is there now is a modern one, constructed after the 19th-century workers cut through the tufa blocks in the basement level in search of the tomb chamber (Ciancio Rossetto, 30 n. 18). The excavators originally thought that the tomb chamber would have been in the basement level of the structure. Instead, they found a large, irregularly carved cavity, but in the original brick fill. Ciancio Rossetto speculates that treasure hunters made this cavity during the preceding century. For the reports by Grifi concerning the efforts to find the tomb chamber, see Ciancio Rossetto, 78 (Nov. 12, 1838, n. 6048, Nov. 29, 1838, n. 6257, and Jan. 3, 1839, n. 172). Roman tombs typically had an interior chamber reserved for the deceased's burial and accessed by living family members. Although the *familia* of Eurysaces would have had occasion to visit the tomb on the day of the funeral and on the ninth day after the funeral to partake of a meal at the grave site (*cena novendialis*), and thereafter on the deceased's birthday (*dies natalis*), among other feast days, the focus here will be primarily on passersby, in part because Eurysaces' monument communicates at least as much to travelers along the road as to his family.

The lack of an interior chamber is not all that uncommon in Roman funerary practice. Two possible explanations exist for the apparent lack of a door and tomb chamber in Eurysaces' monument. One is that the burial was not within the tomb itself, but along the external walls of the monument. Examples exist at Pompeii in which tombs themselves do not contain burials; rather, a *recinto*, or enclosure, adjacent to a funerary monument was used for the burials, if at all (for example, Mamia's exedra tomb in Pompeii at the Porta Ercolano). See Kockel (as in n. 58), 57–59. Another possibility is that

Eurysaces' tomb is not really a tomb but a commemorative monument, or *monumentum*, as he in fact declares in three of its inscriptions. In this case, the monument does not contain the remains of Eurysaces but instead functions as a memorial to him—a cenotaph. On cenotaphs, see Bernard Frischer, "Monumenta et Arae Honoris Virtutisque Causa: Evidence of Memorials for Roman Civic Heroes," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (1983): 51–86.

64. See Kleiner, 1992, 107, who draws a similar conclusion.

65. The west facade would have been accessible primarily to a viewer departing the city, but he, on choosing either the Via Labicana or the Via Praenestina, would have had the opportunity to read one of the monument's longer facades. Because there is an inscription on the monument's west facade (between the first and second stories), we can assume that the tomb immediately to its west was of a smaller stature than Eurysaces'. It is therefore likely that this other tomb would not have obstructed the view of the west facade of Eurysaces' tomb.

The traveler approaching from the east would have had a slightly different viewing experience. As mentioned, there was a tomb that abutted the east facade and seems to have been of considerable height (it had rather thick foundation walls). Moreover, the extant evidence of Eurysaces' tomb indicates that the uninscribed architrave separating the lower story from the second is of tufa rather than of travertine, as it appears on the three other sides of the tomb, suggesting that the tomb next door was at least tall enough to have covered and thus made unnecessary a more expensive, inscribed travertine architrave here. Large tufa blocks continue for at least three rows in the second story, raising the possibility that the tomb to the east rose at least that high. The view from the east therefore would have been slightly impeded by the adjacent tomb, and from a distance, despite its height, Eurysaces' monument would not necessarily have come into view until a passerby walked under the arcuated aqueduct and entered this relatively unobstructed zone. If the epitaph and relief portrait belong to Eurysaces' monument, then they may not have been visible until one entered this zone. Nonetheless, a traveler on either road approaching Rome would have encountered the east facade first, before proceeding to either the north or south facade.

66. See Ciancio Rossetto, 17–22.

67. For a useful discussion on the indeterminacies of interpretation in an ancient Roman setting, see Peter J. Holliday, "Roman Triumphal Painting: Its Function, Development, and Reception," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 130–47, esp. 144–45. In addition, see John R. Clarke's important work that engages different viewer responses to Roman art and monuments, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and his forthcoming book (as in n. 6).

68. I refer to the passerby as "he" only for the sake of writing and reading convenience. By doing so, I do not intend to suggest that all passersby were men.

69. In addition, privileging this audience permits me to deal with other aspects of the tomb first, before discussing the problematic reconstruction of the east facade.

70. For a pessimistic view of the literacy rates in Rome (about 10–15 percent), see William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989). For more optimistic views in response to Harris's work, see the essays in *Literacy in the Roman World*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary Series, no. 3, by Mary Beard et al. (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991).

71. Nonetheless, scholars spend a great amount of time discussing the frieze. See, for example, Ciancio Rossetto, 41–67, who devotes over half of her discussion of the monument to analysis of its frieze.

72. These traces are very minimal. See Ciancio Rossetto, 38.

73. Kleiner, 1992, 109.

74. See Ciancio Rossetto, 45–50, for a discussion of images of grinding mills. Grinding mills were found in several baking establishments in Pompeii and Ostia Antica. For those found at Pompeii, see Mayeske (as in n. 9). Several grinding machines are in situ at the bakery of Silvanus in Ostia (I.3.1).

75. See discussion above, esp. n. 5.

76. A. Viscogliosi, "Apollo, Aedes in Circo," in *LTUR*, vol. 2, 49–54; and Richardson, 12–13.

77. This statement assumes a mid-1st century B.C.E. date (rather than mid-Augustan) and is based on the extant archaeological record. See Ciancio Rossetto, 53–61. Also see the important study of images of work in Roman art by Gerhard Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1982).

78. Slaves were prohibited from wearing the toga, as they were noncitizens; they are often depicted wearing short tunics or as bare-chested. See Ciancio Rossetto, 41–67, for her identification of the individuals represented in the frieze.

79. Unless ancients could read an ex-slave status through means that we have yet to recognize.

80. Brandt, 14–15. Typically, epitaphs begin with, and thus emphasize, the name(s) of the deceased.

81. This interpretation, however, does not seem to allow for the inclusion of Atistia's burial and may cast doubt once again on the legitimacy of linking her epitaph with a monument that so clearly celebrates Eurysaces' achievements.

82. For individualistic choices in early Imperial epigraphy, see Greg Woolf,

"Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996): 22–39.

83. Brandt, 14–15.

84. See *ibid.*, 15–17, for a review of the literature. The exceptional view belongs to M. Petrassi, who believes that these features were used as decorative stylization and that identifying them is not what is important. See Petrassi, "Il monumento del fornaio a Porta Maggiore," *Capitolium* 49, nos. 2–3 (1974): 52. On the problems of interpretation, see L. Castiglione, "Zur Deutung des Grabmals von M. Vergilius Eurysaces," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1975): 157–61.

85. Ciancio Rossetto, 33–34, who supports Canina's initial interpretation of these basins as kneading machines, provides substantial and compelling evidence that these basins indeed have the appearance of Roman kneading machines. See esp. 33 n. 24, in which she gives the measurements for the basins, which accord nicely with archaeological record (that is, the diameter of the basins on the monument measure approximately 30–37 inches, with a depth of about 20 inches, similar to surviving kneading machines). On Roman kneading machines, see A. Mau, "Su certi apparecchi nei pistirini di Pompei," *Mitteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 1 (1886): 45–48; and Mayeske (as in n. 9).

86. The square depressions measure roughly 2 inches along each side. Ciancio Rossetto, 34, speculates that the basins in the upper zone of the monument are not placed according to how they would have been used (they are horizontal rather than vertical) so that we can see the interior and identify the basins as kneading machines. She also suggests that the basins in the upper story functioned in an explanatory manner—they relate to the cylinders below and explain their appearance as well, as we shall see.

87. To my knowledge this observation has escaped notice. The recent cleaning of the monument (spring 1999) has revealed these rust stains.

88. For an interesting alternative view, see Canina's reconstruction with a metal mount in each basin, which displayed a representation (in travertine) of bread dough, and for the evidence, albeit scanty, that supports his reconstruction (cited in Ciancio Rossetto, 34 n. 27).

89. Here I use the term *spolia* very broadly—as the reuse or recycling of objects. This definition derives from Dale Kinney's important work on the problems of defining and understanding *spolia*, "*Spolia: Damnatio and renovatio memoriae*," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 117–48, esp. 117–20; and "Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*," in *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. Susan C. Scott (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 53–67. Also see Jas Elsner, "From the Culture of *Spolia* to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 149–84. More generally, works on late antique and early medieval *spolia* include Joseph Alchermes, "*Spolia* in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 167–78; Friedrich W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der Spätantiken Architektur* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975); Lucilla de Lachenal, *Spolia: Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan: Longanesi, 1995); A. Esch, "Spolien: Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen in mittelalterlichen Italien," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 51 (1969): 1–64; and Joachim Poeschke, ed., *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich: Hirmer, 1996).

90. The kneading machines from Pompeii and Ostia are made of either a very porous volcanic stone or tufa. Otherwise, the extant kneading machines are generally the same size and shape as the basins in Eurysaces' monument (as Ciancio Rossetto has aptly demonstrated), and they have the same-sized square depression in the center of the bottom of the basin (in some cases the metal mount is preserved). Although there are no extant metal mounts in Eurysaces' basins, the rust stains in each suggest that there may well have been a mount present at one time.

91. Kinney coined the term "virtual *spolia*" (see Kinney 1997 [as in n. 89], 137–40), which derives from Richard Brilliant's term *spolia in re*—a reuse of formal characteristics rather than of tangible objects. Richard Brilliant, "I piedistalli del giardino di Boboli: *Spolia in se, spolia in re*," *Prospettiva* 31 (Oct. 1982): 2–17.

92. Davies, 2000 (as in n. 52), 49–67. Richardson, 247–49. Also see H. von Hesberg, "Mausoleum Augusti: Das Monument," in *LTUR*, vol. 3, 234–37. The date of the placement of these obelisks at Augustus's mausoleum is the subject of scholarly debate. For a succinct account of the issues, see Davies, 2000, 15 and n. 11.

93. See Kleiner, 1992, 107.

94. Ciancio Rossetto, 29. During the cleaning and restoration of the monument in the spring of 1999, the square depression once visible in the broken cylinder at the northeast corner was filled in with cement. Ciancio Rossetto's image of it may be our only documentation of its existence.

95. Brandt, 16. For the sake of clarity, I illustrate this point with the model of Eurysaces' monument.

96. Also see Ciancio Rossetto, 33–34.

97. See n. 2 above for the problems in translating this word and for alternative meanings.

98. His monument might have displayed as many as sixty-six kneading machines, allowing for a vertical row on the eastern side of the north facade. This number far exceeds the number of kneading machines found in bakeries in Pompeii and Ostia Antica (typically one or two or, more unusually, six).

99. For example, Eve D'Ambra (as in n. 6); Zanker, 1975; and Zimmer (as in n. 77). For more nuanced studies of work-related identities, see Pertti Huttunen, *The Social Strata of the Imperial City of Rome: A Quantitative Study of the Social Representation in the Epitaphs Published in the CLL*, 6 (Oulu, Finland: Acta Universitatis Ouluensis, 1974); Joshel; and Kampen (as in n. 4).

100. See, for example, Jean Andreau, "The Freedman," in *The Romans*, ed. Andrea Giardina, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 175–98; Eve D'Ambra, "A Work 'Ethic' at Ostia: The Isola Sacra Reliefs," M.A. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1981, esp. 26–31; Marleen Boudreau Flory, "Family in *Familia*: Kinship and Community in Slavery," *American Journal of Ancient History* 3 (1978): 78–95; Joshel; Kampen (as in n. 4); Treggiari (as in n. 29), 87–161; and Zanker, 1975.

101. Cicero, *De officiis* 1.52.150–51, trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1961): "Vulgar we must consider those also who buy from wholesale merchandisers to retail immediately; for they would get no profits without a great deal of downright lying; and verily, there is no action that is meaner than misrepresentation. . . . Least respectable of all are those trades which cater to sensual pleasures: fishmongers, butchers, cooks, and poulterers, and fishermen, as Terence says. Add to these if you please perfumers, dancers, and those involved in song and dance [*Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus, quod statim vendant; nihil enim proficiant, nisi admodum mentiantur; nec vero est quicquam turpissimum. . . . Minimeque artes eae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum: cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, ut ait Terentius; adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium*]." 102. Cicero also discusses more respectable professions, such as medicine and teaching, that is, those that benefit society. In his view, these professions fall somewhere between the vulgar and the respectable. Joshel, 62–69. For a basic study on work in the Roman Empire, also see Francesco M. de Robertis, *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano* (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1979).

103. There are variants of this model. Most notably, Natalie Kampen and Eve D'Ambra have separately argued that work was an individual's primary means of defining his social status among peers. Kampen, the first to collect the reliefs from the 2nd-century necropolises at Isola Sacra and Ostia and to study the social significance of depicting work, connects images of work with aristocratic values of the Republic. The verism of late Republican portraits—those serious and haggard faces—"express the old virtues of hard work, accepted responsibility, community identity." She links the veristic style of this type of portraiture with the literally conceived images of work from Ostia and suggests that "the values implicit in the Republican portraits were appropriate for those wealthy plebeians and freedmen whose riches came from work and responsibility and who were increasingly creating for themselves a sense of participation in the Roman community," albeit displaced from the toil of military and political life (Kampen [as in n. 4], 85). She concludes by proposing that work could offer nonelite individuals a type of alternative *cursus honorum* (135). In a similar vein, D'Ambra (as in n. 100) suggests that the Isola Sacra reliefs depicting work demonstrate workers' pride in obtaining self-sufficiency, gained solely through the financial rewards of their professions. Adopted from elite culture, this rhetoric of self-sufficiency is one that workers aspired to, and it provided an individual with a means to distinguish himself from his peers. She also argues, 10, that a work identity privileged an individual, rather than a group, familial identity, as was prevalent in the late Republic and early empire. See Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits*, *Archaeologica*, 62 (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1987), for a similar conclusion—that during the later empire an individual's identity prevailed over a familial identity. Also see Andreau (as in n. 100), 186–91, in which he argues that work provided an ex-slave with the opportunity for "social assimilation"; and Joshel, 85–91.

104. For example, Diane Favro asserts, "In effect, Eurysaces presented his tomb as a monument celebrating not a military battle, but his victory over slavery and poverty. During the famines and disruptions in Rome, a baker served the state as much as a general and could reveal equal hubris by constructing a permanent monument." Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 94. Likewise, Zanker, 1988, 15, states that Eurysaces "proclaimed his professional success as if it were a service to the state."

105. Flory (as in n. 100), 78–95. Flory suggests that the notion of a work community might have been an alternative to kinship relations denied to slaves and former slaves, and that it might have provided a sense of social stability especially for slaves themselves. This work-related group identity is also witnessed in funerary guilds, in which workers of the same profession were buried together, with each having contributed to the cost of the tomb and the funerary rites. On group burial, see Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 211–17; and John Patterson, "Patronage, *Collegia* and Burial in Imperial Rome," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 15–27.

106. However, Joshel, 85–91, is wary of Flory's (and Susan Treggiari's) argument that workers used job titles in epitaphs for their prestige value. See also Susan Treggiari, "Jobs in the Household of Livia," *Papers of the British School in Rome* 43 (1975): 48–77.

107. Joshel, 165. For an example of this mentality at work in the *domus* (household), see John D'Arms, "Slaves at Roman *Convivia*," in *Dining in a*



*Classical Context*, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 171–83.

108. Joshel, 145–61. Joshel demonstrates how the workers' activity emphasized their masters' passivity. For a discussion of the rhetoric of activity and passivity in the Roman constructions of sexuality, see Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

109. See n. 30 above, and more specifically, Bianchi Bandinelli (as in n. 5), 66, for the theory that he supplied bread to the army.

110. For an important discussion of the grain supply in Rome, see Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); idem, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Garnsey and Saller (as in n. 4), esp. 43–103; and Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, trans. Brian Pearce, abridged ed. (London: Penguin Press, 1990), 236–45.

111. For a list of food crises and political responses in the 1st century B.C.E., see Garnsey, 1988 (as in n. 110), 198–220. For Augustus's responses to the food crises, also see Cassius Dio 54.1.1–4 and *Res Gestae* 5.

112. See Ciancio Rossetto, 56; Peter Hertz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschafts-gesetzgebung: Die Lebensmittelversorgung* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1988), 40, 78, 113; and Zimmer (as in n. 77), 106–9, who all identify Eurysaces as interacting with state authorities on the west (and south) facade.

113. Although we may not be able to secure the meaning of the word *apparet*, we should allow for the possibility that interpretations were also open to ancient readers of this text and to Eurysaces alike (see n. 2). All interpretations could fit well into Eurysaces' program. For example, if *apparet* were to mean that Eurysaces was a public servant or official, albeit minor, who served the state by producing bread, he thus presented a type of *res gestae* to his viewers; while he had no military or political achievements to boast of, he does have his profession and his service to the state to present as his accomplishments. See Kleiner, 1992, 107; and Favro (as in n. 104). Alternatively, *apparet* could simply mean that Eurysaces appears as a baker and contractor. The more witty interpretation, as offered by Bodel, will be discussed below.

114. Grains and cereals also played a crucial role in religious rites as a way to ensure their availability. On the symbolic meanings of grains, see Garnsey, 1988 (as in n. 110), 17–19.

115. See Joshel, 80–81.

116. Von Hesberg, 26–37; and Zanker, 1988, 15–17.

117. Taken from Italo Calvino, "The city is redundant: it repeats itself so that something will stick in the mind." From *Invisible Cities*, trans. William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt, 1974), 19.

118. For a thoughtful discussion on Roman memory and monuments, see Mary Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 1–29. The bibliography on ancient memory devices is vast. However, the one significant and recurring aspect of artificial memory is the importance placed on imprinting images in the mind/soul. See *Ad C. Herennium* 3.16–24; Aristotle, "On Memory and Recollection," in *Parva naturalia*; Cicero, *De oratore* 2.86.351–87.358; and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 11.2.17–22. Also see discussions of these texts in Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

119. The possibility also exists that just the portrait or inscription (as well as neither) belongs to the tomb. In the following analysis, I do not intend to accept blindly the scholarly status quo. Rather, I have shown problems with the reconstructions of the tomb's eastern facade and have privileged the other three facades in this analysis. Nonetheless, I would like to introduce the relief portrait and inscription, which might have belonged to Eurysaces' tomb.

120. Canina (as in n. 14), 202–30, proposes that cylinders and circular forms occupied the second and third stories, respectively, as with the other facades. He does not believe that the frieze continued on this facade (Fig. 12). Ciancio Rossetto, 65, disagrees with this reconstruction. Among other things, she believes that the second story of the east facade was left unadorned, as was the space around the portrait-epitaph ensemble in the third story (Fig. 15). She suggests, however, that a fourth inscription, like the other three, might have appeared on this facade as well (between the first and second stories). Also see the model reconstruction in which the frieze continues on the east facade (Fig. 14).

121. Kleiner, 1992, 107.

122. Also see *ibid.*

123. See Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980), 83, for a peasant's account of utopia, with a strong emphasis on food. Although Eurysaces was no "peasant," food, or more specifically bread, may have shaped his point of view. I would like to thank Sandra Joshel for bringing this text to my attention.

124. *CIL* 3, 3980, as translated in Walker (as in n. 59), 62. More subtly, the funerary altar of T. Statilius Aper depicts the deceased standing with a dead boar at his feet. Michael Koortbojian (as in n. 50), 230–31, observes that the image of the boar visualizes a pun on Aper's name—the Latin word for "boar" (*CIL* 6, 1975). Koortbojian translates the inscription below the image of the deceased as: "Lo, you lie here innocent Aper! Your side pierced by neither the wrath of the virgin nor by the spear of fierce Meleager. Silent death crept up suddenly, and brought destruction, seizing your youthful, flourishing form [*Innocuus Aper ecce iaces non virginis ira, nec Meleager atrox perfodit viscera ferro: mors tacita obrepit subito fecit(ue) ruinam quae tibi crescenti rapuit iuvenile(m) figuram*]." According to Koortbojian, the pun makes reference to the Meleager myth, thus associating Aper not only with the boar that Meleager hunted but also, as the visual image suggests, with the virtuous Meleager who died because of the hunt.

125. As cited in Walker (as in n. 59), 62.

126. As jokes and puns were at home in a funerary context, food could also be the source of both. For an insightful analysis of the meanings of food in Roman literature, see Emily Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

127. See Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Scavi di Ostia: Le necropoli*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955), 169ff. I would like to thank Barbara Kellum for bringing this monument to my attention.

128. On travelers, journeys, and memory, see, for example, Calvino (as in n. 117); and Jaeger (as in n. 118).

129. On the backward- and forward-looking aspects of monuments, see Jaeger (as in n. 118), 15–18.